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ABSTRACT

One way to explore how the relationship between schools and the local culture can be enriched and transformed is a fruitful dialogue among different communities. The conference that is reported on in this collection was concerned with using three "talking points" as a platform: democratization, citizenship, and global concerns. The collection is divided into the following four chapters: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "Classroom Processes"; (3) "Curriculum"; and (4) "Autonomy." Articles found in the chapters, include: (1) "Improving Education--How to Get Further in Innovation?" (Knud Jensen; Ole B. Larsen; Stephen Walker); (2) "Sharing Influence with Pupils: Some Theoretical Considerations," (Knud Jensen; Ole B. Larsen; Stephen Walker); (3) "The Democratisation in the Classroom," (A. Rogacheva); (4) "Ungraded Primary School and Education for Citizenship," (Juhani Hytonen); (5) "Gender and Educational Disadvantage: Teenage Girls' Access to Discourses of Desire, Power and Injustice," (Pam Gilbert; Rob Gilbert); (6) "The Music Video as Educational Text," (Susanne V. Knudsen); (7) "Democratization, Citizenship and Action Competence," (Karsten Schnack); (8) "Innovation in Schools and Democratic Action Competence," (Ole B. Larsen); (9) "Citizen Entitlement and Everyday Experience: An Approach to Education for Citizenship, Democracy, and Global Concern," (Rob Gilbert); (10) "Some Questions of the Process of Democracy of Education in Russia," (Helena Kurakina); (11) "Educational Policy in Contemporary Estonia," (Lembit Turnpuu; Matti Piirimaa); (12) "Democratisation, Citizenship and International Education," (Knud Jensen), (13) "The School in Copenhagen. An Introduction to Grondalsvaengets Skole," (Per Flemming Jorgensen); (14) "School No. 825, Moscow" (Vladimir A. Karakovsky); (15) "Holy Trinity R.C. Secondary School, Birmingham" (Tom Temple); (16) "St. Bernadette's R.C.J./I School, Birmingham" (John Mcnally); and (17) "Project Democratisation, Citizenship and International Education" (Stephen Walker). (BT)

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Democracy in Schools, Citizenship and Global Concern

Editors:
Knud Jensen
Ole B. Larsen
Stephen Walker

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Chapter I

Introduction

Improving Education -
How to get further in Innovation?

Knud Jensen, Ole B. Larsen and Stephen Walker

Sites for Intervention

In a great deal of the discussions about innovation and improvement in education, the school is often portrayed as some kind of microcosm, as a special organisational culture, although it is very evident that no institution is the preserve of some island-based tribe, nor can it be seen as such. This is especially true of schools. Schools are essentially workshops for complex cultural exchanges - many of which derive their energy from *outside* of the immediate context of the school building or its interactional setting. Nevertheless, any educational analyst or researcher committed to democratisation has to try to advance these dynamic exchanges and to nurture the creative courage that is contained within teacher-teacher and within teacher-researcher partnerships.

This is not quite as modest an ambition as might first appear. Such a task is not just a question of establishing space for new ideas but, just as much, it involves reaching-out for a comprehensive understanding of the cultural work of schools and of how schools themselves articulate with wider social systems. These linkages, however, are complex and it would be the height of folly to try to embark on such a complicated venture without first having reached some understanding of how the internal dynamics work - and who ever got a reward for taking that kind of risk? Instead, let us consider some thoughts about how school culture and cultural relations in school can be understood as *a basis* for democratic innovations and about the implications of this understanding.

As has been frequently observed, the school has a duality of function - the handing-over of culture and the production of new cultural forms. It is in the execution of the first of these, *cultural mediation*, in which we can discover the operations where internal and external cultures inter-relate. This function is that side of the duality which is most emphasised in very many schools as well as being the actual site of cultural development. This is the point of contact, the permanent connection between the micro-culture of the school and the macro-culture of the wider community.

However, we should also realise that teachers in school, as they actualise this connection through their day-to-day activities, can exercise certain choices. They can take into consideration the impact children's cultural background has on their access to culture and on their learning of it , that is, Culture with a capital C. These reflections, these choices, are evocative - especially if we use them to direct attention towards other aspects of *managing* these moments rather than, say, towards trying to lessen their impact.

How To Open-Up To A Wider Collectivity?

Teachers sometimes make comments like: "It's not the easiest job in the world to supply these kids with the necessary cultural techniques,-especially as so many of them are so poorly motivated. Some of them suffer from a lack of the most essential general knowledge and norms and parents sometimes leave the whole job of socialising the kids in this stuff to us in the schools".

To be sure, in some ways, such teachers are right. Cultural mediation is not the easiest job in the world. But it is a job with a multiplicity of possibilities for innovation. To get some purchase on these, we do need to recognise that the handing-over of the culture is not simply a question of the overt processes of the official curriculum, i.e., a part of curriculum content. The macro-culture of a society penetrates and preserves links with the school culture through the norms, the collective values and the priorities which are embedded in the daily *praxis* of schools. It also works through the normative cultural understandings which are carried into the school by teachers, pupils or other participants as part of their biographical luggage. As individuals, each of us has some special association with our immediate and our more distant social formation - it is a side of our identity. The crucial question is whether or not the school is conscious of what this cultural connection implies. Or, more positively, whether or not the school is conscious and confident about how it could be insightful and interventionist with culture.

Behind most of the discussions about democratic innovation and the contribution programmes like democratic action research can make to such innovation, is a basic viewpoint that democratisation is quintessentially to do with analysing and developing a democratic organisational culture. What does this mean? It means that changes of praxis should reflect and reinforce not only technical improvements but also provide an opportunity for deeper insights and for a wider experience of democratic cultivation. What we have in mind here is some kind of production of cultural content and cultural form which can benefit from the special place and function the school has as institution - namely, that the product and the processes of school work are not (directly) submitted to market mechanisms. This relative autonomy, as such, gives not the worst of backgrounds against which civic socialisation can be set and one which, in our experience, allows one to raise some rather potent expectations about the resourcefulness and the professional imagination of teachers.

Working In Two Directions

The community outside the school can influence what goes on inside. On the one hand, this could be an obstructive influence - whereby local groups seek to control resources and practices in school with a specific intention of blocking innovation or of preserving traditional methods and programmes. But, on the other hand, this influence can be constructive - in cases where, for example, the school becomes, say, a physical centre of life in the community and a community resource and, as a consequence of this, the need to integrate the purpose of schooling and the purposes of community association collide. However, the really important sense of influence from the point of view of democratisation is more fundamental - though possible less immediately visible.

Democratic responsibility for new members of a community like school- children is learned first and foremost through experience. This means that the efforts of all those seeking to increase the opportunities for such a learning experience and to enrich and extend those experiences themselves are inextricably linked with community development - if only to the extent to which the schools' activities *in* the local community will be able to make positive or negative contributions to the negotiations teachers and pupils are obliged to work upon if they are to achieve their transformative goals.

Likewise, the school will have to consider how it can generate those methods and strategies best suited to having experiences from the school as a cultural centre organised through democratic co-operation carried back out into the local area. This approach has the best chance of being realised if both the concepts used to define a school's place *in* a local culture and those concepts used within schools *of* the local culture in which it is embedded are *not* too tightly bound by mutual deficit understandings. The replacement of such images with ones which are interwoven with notions of cultural coexistence and of multiple partnership is a concrete aim for action research - the development of the local culture in the school and of the school in the local culture.

And one way of exploring how this relationship between schools and the local culture can be enriched and transformed is a fruitful dialogue between different communities. To try to get to grips with how such a dialogue between people from different countries, different national cultures might be given real shape and common purpose, we have started by considering three items and how they apply in the daily lives of the schools and their local community relationships in which we live and work. These three items or topics for dialogue are:

Democratisation

In this context, democratisation is understood as a continuous process to do with the development and enrichment of everyday life in schools, development through the increased participation and greater co-influence of different partners especially by students and teachers, but also by parents and members of the local community.

Citizenship

In addition to democratic discourse, current discussion about active citizenship provides a good way of getting into a consideration of the 'educated' person as a versatile individual. In different countries we find various discussions of this concept and of what 'versatile' means.

Global Concerns

The notion of "international" education has relevance at many levels of the dialogue. It is the theme of "official" communiqués and resolutions which look towards international harmony and peace. It is the target of governmental initiatives which are to do with having qualifications recognised across national borders, with labour mobility and with establishing economic links. And it is the aspiration of many educational policy-makers, of many teachers and of many curriculum-writers.

Developing The Dialogue

The conference which is reported in this collection was very concerned with using these three 'talking points' as a platform.

As we approach the end of the 20th century, massive social changes impact on our lives, upon our lives as citizens, as individuals, as members of communities, as educators. Ecological change extends and limits our social possibilities. So do technological changes, developments in communication systems, in computer technology, in information transmission and distribution. For example, access to international data network changes many aspects of the distribution and control of knowledge. So does international control of mass media or mass production. Maybe, then the democratisation of school and classroom has new relevance. Its focus is not only upon power relations in everyday life and in the community, it is also now related to global relations.

Global concerns has become more and more important in both schools and society. This is true for ecological and for health matters and for an understanding of history, not as a set of relationships which reflect a "we" and "them" mentality, but as "us", "us" as a part of personal and social development.

The enormous advantages of new modes of communication and the nearly overwhelming flood of information, significantly increase the influence held by a handful of individual people on our lives and our futures and this constellation of social changes could reduce the importance of schooling. However, through the new modes of communication and through the new information exchanges, we can also take over the direct links of communication between schools in other countries. As teachers and researchers have the responsibility for at least giving some opinions on these matters.

One opinion could be expressed in the sentiments expressed in the following question;

> *How, as teachers and researchers, do we stand with respect to freedom of speech and freedom for forming an opinion; how can we be resourceful and active in building autonomy in classrooms ?*

Most of our cultures are based historically in conditions of inequality, inequalities which are related to social classes, ethnic relations and gender. And the interpretative work which is such an unavoidable part of teaching, be it according to a national or local curriculum, has to reflect this history. But if the curriculum content is to be formed out of a conscious democratic approach, then the approach must be reflected in the socialization patterns and normative developments mediated by the cultural content and the possibility to create new aspects of culture; these are made possible through the contents of the curriculum and the forms of pedagogy used to deliver that curriculum.

- At the international level we detect some new trends in the relations between state and school. In some areas, a near total decentralisation of schooling is going on with more influence to parents and students. In other areas citizens deal with schisms in schools as ideological institutions. In some areas, economic and material conditions turn attention towards basic qualifications rather than education for democratic citizenship. The transformation of state theory continues and forces a reconsideration of issues about citizen's rights and what is becoming a continuing process of negotiations about duties, possibilities and legislative matters.

The conference was organised as a series of workshops which were concerned with an exploration of these items for a dialogue. The papers that follow report that dialogue.

Chapter II

Classroom processes

Sharing Influence with Pupils: Some Theoretical Considerations

Knud Jensen, Ole B. Larsen and Stephen Walker

We will start this paper with two critical questions:

* *How can 'better possibilities' actually be created in the school, possibilities which enable those participating in the school's everyday life to develop in fellowship and possibilities which enable them to work on a more equal footing?*

* *How can obstacles and hindrances to such a continuous process be recognized and then reduced or removed?*

A crucial issue for the teacher in the classroom is the management of power and this is not only a question about good will or democratic vision. Teachers need concrete ideas about how to realise their visions.

To get rid of Alienation

We can move some way to securing a richer theoretical understanding of pupil co-influence in school by exploring this in relation to the work processes of schools and classrooms. However, making a model of these processes the *only* starting-point for development can be criticised in that they do not in themselves cover all types of activities and undertakings which comprise instruction and experience in school. Certainly, we are very occupied indeed in our own work with these aspects of the democratic process which have direct consequences for the daily work of those involved. And this is not to say that we deny the importance of the *representational* side of the democratic decision-making process - but, in school and in school work, by far the greatest amount of time is characteristically associated with activities which, to a large extent, can be modified by teachers and pupils *themselves*, the processes of everyday life in school.

In exploring this we have, of course, considered different angles or perspectives of the issue - such as those which underline direct co-influence on one's work and working conditions or working towards the removal of those pressures or deterministic contraints on life in school which come from outside the institution. In this connection, we have been confronted with a number of theories from a number of different groups. Many of these place great stress on recognising that the conditions of participation for teachers and those for pupils are clearly *different*. Pupils are forced into the education system and their participation is compulsory, whilst teachers are present as voluntarily-working wage-earners. But to recognise this is not to defend arguments which seek to demonstrate simple oppression; rather, it is a claim that an important prerequisite for people to be able to work towards freeing themselves from unnecessary, "outside-determination" is that power relations are more or less clearly defined.

Defining Power Relations

Power relations in the classroom are not just an expression of certain status positionss or legal definitions. They are also expressions of the manner in which the different people involved understand the relationships between themselves and desire to develop it. We do not deny, then, the existence of authority which is associated with a particular position. On the contrary, we do advocate that powerful workers or individuals should make themselves less powerful - because this will open up opportunities for co-influence by more participants on the work process and, by implication, will mean that the "less powerful" will be obliged to expend more energy in determining a greater part of their own lives. Consequently, power is not just something which is associated with a social position; it is also a question of individual potential and of relationships. These relationships are, de facto, under development and are susceptible to influence from those involved in the relationship - at least, to some extent.

In our experience, for teachers *actively* to move towards sharing influence with pupils, it is an important pre-requisite that they themselves are engaged with the democratisation of their own work conditions. In action research, therefore, we have found it advantageous to work on several different substantive levels at the same time - for example,

- at the level of teacher-management relations,
- at the level of teachers' collegial relations and conditions,
- and in relation to teachers' didactic understanding.

But, across and common to all these levels or areas has been the application of some principles which we find are fundamental in the business of democratisation. We began by using these principles when developing a framework for discussing didactics - that is, as concepts which could place important demands on curriculum instruction and planning in public-sector schools. But the more we worked with other levels - with teacher-relations and with teachers' work conditions - the clearer it became that the same principles applied.

The Dialogue: Pupil-Centred Teaching

To maintain dialectical reasoning, to accomplish the bringing together of such concepts of freedom of expression *and* of publicity, it is not enough to think only in terms of contrasts or poles. Very often one is forced to acknowledge that what are apparently two different or polar interests are only interesting when they are taken as co-existing phenomena. They are complementary to each other - there is a potential between the poles. And, if one side happens to disappear from significance, then, at that moment, the phenomenon is no longer interesting. Such a perspective, without doubt, gives discussions of how education works quite another quality. No where is this more so than in discussion of teacher-pupil relationships. Although we are aware that discussion here frequently focuses upon the ambiguity of this relationship, the democratic teacher will find it necessary to work with dialogue, with the communicative mechanisms of the relationship. Through discussion, teachers have their main opportunity of uncovering pupil ideas, interests and reasoning - they themselves can learn by listening attentively

- and through discussion teachers can reveal their own ideas and justifications.

It is through the utilisation of the many and various concepts and plans of action which emerge in dialogue that we can open-up the way to experience 'new' possibilities - not just in terms of social experience and human possibilities but also in terms of more mundane concerns of teaching. There are very few subjects which can only be dealt with in one, simple way.

Methodological Rituals and Different Agreements

One of the features of our way of thinking about teaching - which, perhaps, distinguishes it from the methods and views available in other reports on action-research driven school development and project work - is a stance towards differences. All participants in school - teachers, pupils or whoever - not only *have* different interests, views and attitudes but collegial relations are only secure if these differences are seen and treated as legitimate. It is important that differences be considered as valid for as long as possible without the total collapse of fellowship between the various partners. To avoid the latter, and - more pertinently - to avoid ritualization of relations and interaction routines - "agreements" have come to feature high upon our action research agenda. Whilst rules and procedures are often difficult to break or to reform, agreements have proved otherwise. An agreement, for example, being a newly-negotiated deal rather than a deeply established norm, which turns out to be out of keeping with the actual conditions a group may have, can be renegotiated. Although we do not deny the importance of rules in running social life, we emphasise the power of agreements as a tool for *discovering* new possibilities and fresh opportunities. This is partly because in confronting many of the difficulties in social life it is not appropriate to control them through a simple rule application; they require negotiation and agreements and negotiation itself gives splendid opportunities to re-examine and to re- construct rules. There is a great difference between being able to revise an agreement and being able to change a set of rules; if only because agreements actually require power exchange. In addition, there seems to be no reason for wanting to evade agreements - whereas it seems quite common for us to evade rules if we feel they are too elaborate or that they do not fit the actual situation appropriately. The perspective we are working with leads us to see agreements as being based on dialogue and exchange and rules as more likely to have a normative base.

Theory and Practice

It is often the case in school-based research and development that the participants awareness is future-directed - seeking to promote opportunities to gain new insights and to create new experiences. This future-orientation often means that the Utopian vision is ahead of and detached from the concrete reality - or, the vision participants have exceeds their understanding of the diversity of experience they have already acquired. A fundamental condition for action research to be beneficial in the school, then, is that, on the one hand, participants - through dialogue acknowledge the importance and the range of individual experiences and understandings and, on the other, that they are prepared to have these re-inspected and revised through future-oriented actions.

Simultaneous Development of Theory and Practice

An essential characteristic of pedagogic theories is that they attempt to provide a summarised description of how the pedagogic world appears - for example, of how relations *are* between different people and groups of people. On the basis of these summarised description, some principles can be devised with regard to how practice can be influenced. Hence, it is impossible to talk of converting theory into practice. When pedagogic 'change' is the issue, however, the theories of both teachers and researchers about what is desirable *and* what is possible have to be developed. The closest one can come, therefore, to developing and relating theory and practice lies in a process of careful consideration - a process of reflection which goes both ways. It moves between provisional theory to the formation of practice and from the implemented practice back to the theory again, with a view to weighing-up its validity and, possibly, to revising it.

What is it that we Want?

In retrospect, the dialogue enabled to emerge has brought some of the following interests into the foreground - representing a certain synthesis of theories in practice, a synthesis we have attempted to articulate in this paper.

- An interest in reaching further than the anti-authoritarian pedagogy which, in many ways, was a characteristic feature of the progressive rhetoric and of the radical educational critique of the 1960s and the 1970s: a reaching towards a better, practical *didactical basis for a democratic formation.*

- A critical, socially-engaged educational endeavour to *qualify pupils experiences* as these embrace their own possibilities for action and are located in their community context. In short, a development of their sociological imagination.

- A focus upon the *communicative* aspects of schooling, so that teachers and pupils become ever more able to replace concealed co-learning with dialogue, with jointly-responsible autonomy and with agreements.

- An engagement with the widest possible re-organisation of irrational power and privilege systems, so that those participating in schooling can share their abilities to acquire *increasing influence* on their own lives and work.

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The Democratisation in the Classroom

A. Rogacheva

The problem of democratisation is extremely important for the modern Russian school. Our society and state are unstable. The desirable perspective for us is a legitimate, democratic state. We have taken only the first steps to it. It is a pity that our experience in democratisation is very poor as compared with European countries. The school is not only a mould of society, it is also the place where the personality is formed and brought up as an active citizen. The first experience of democracy the pupil can and should get at school which is democratic and humane, where man is the highest absolute value, the "measure of all things", an aim, a means and the result of education and upbringing.

What does the democratisation process mean at school? If democratisation in society is a political and social problem, democratisation at school is a pedagogical problem first of all. The most important acquirement of the modern official pedagogy is a self-directed paradigm. In our opinion, the pedagogical democratisation process includes the improvement of the whole system of actions and relations at school on the democratic basis: that is the creation of the conditions for the free development of the personality and his or her social protection, who is able to find a reasonable balance in his or her relations with society and harmonize them. It is difficult to imagine democratisation without humanisation; otherwise it is changing into a process which has no importance for man and therefore it is senseless.

The largest part of his school life a child spend in the classroom. And his experience or democratic activity and relations depends on that fact: how his everyday school life is organized democratically. In our view, a democratic class is an organization on the basis of which freedom and equality of rights for everybody are taken and everyone recognizes that fact; it is a collective with developed self-governing processes, where the children are the subjects of activity and relations; it is a community where the system of relations is built up on the humane basis; it is a pedagogical phenomenon which gives any teacher a possibility to create different situations, some forms of pedagogical influence with the purpose of self-realization, self-affirmation, free development of the personality.

We consider the class collective to be the important environment, condition and tool for upbringing of the democratic personality. The exercise of freedom and equality of rights, the respect for the rights and freedom of other people, the feeling of responsibility, the acquisition of social experience, the teaching of various ways of communicating in the model "society-me" should have the social-pedagogical basis. And the class can be that basis. The collective life has a great potential for the development of the democratisation process. The problem is in significance of the relations between the class collective and the personality and in the necessity to harmonize them.

Thus we can speak about the democratisation of activity and relations. The means of the democratisation are as follows:

First, everyday school life should be eventful, when collective work becomes very important for a person. It gives an opportunity to make children not only the objects of pedagogical influence but the subjects of interesting and vivid activity. They consider it as a result of their efforts, they feel responsible for it, they learn to communicate and work together and to organize their labour. Such event can be a collective creative work (the Holiday of Knowledge, a sport competition, a folk festival). The methods of this work consider such processes in all levels: planning, organising, realising, analysing and creative participating of everybody.

Secondly, it is the development of the structure o the self-governing in the class. It is very important for a child to take part in the self-governing activity and to act as a leader in one kind of work and to act as a common participant in another one in order to get skills of democratisation. It gives a chance to combine a permanent group of the most active members of the class (the Council of the class which organizes all kinds of activity during the whole school year) and a temporary group of the most active members of the class (which organizes one of the kinds of activity). The structure of the temporary group of the most active members of the class includes the post of the pupil on duty (who is responsible for everyday life of the class during one month) and Temporary Councils which are elected by all pupils of the class on the voluntary basis for organizing and realization one kind of work. It is very important for pupils to take part in discussing and solving problems of everyday life no only in the class but in the school. And it is realized in the process of work of the Big Council which includes, teachers and pupils and the School Council.

The democratisation of relations in the class and in the school should take place on all levels: a teacher-a pupil, a pupil-a pupil; businesslike, interpersonal, inter-group, inter-collective; among the pupils of the same age and among the pupils of different ages. The democratisation of relations is connected with humanisation. Every child should feel as a human being and see that his or her dignity is respected. That is why, during the organisation of everyday school life, it is very important to take necessary account of the nature of the child, his characteristics of age, sex and individuality. In our opinion, indirect methods of influence are more efficient in the democratisation process of relations than direct ones. (The situation of success, competition, confidence, choice and others). The work of a psychologist is very important, too.

Ungraded Primary School and Education for Citizenship

Juhani Hytönen

Abstract

In the early 1970s the first experiments with ungraded schooling were already being conducted in the Finnish upper secondary school. Today, a noticeable part of the Finnish upper secondary schools are working according to the principle of ungradedness. Recently some primary schools have also begun to experiment with ungraded schooling. In these experimentations, newcomers to school can start their regular attendance without being a member of a secure environment with a stable group of students. The writer sees an ungraded primary school as problematic because such a school emphasizes learning as an individual task from the very beginning and gives little relevance to learning as a social phenomena.

1. Background

In the late 1960's, the Finnish primary and lower secondary schools were totally reformed. A debate on the aims and forms of the new schools was started as early as the late 1950s. In the 1960s Parliament members also participated very actively in this debate, and demands for democratic schooling and for equal educational opportunities were the main arguments expressed when the Comprehensive School Act was passed in 1968. The result of the reform was a nine-year basic education, where primary teachers (classroom teachers) have the first six grades (primary level) and secondary teachers have the remaining three grades (lower secondary level).

The school reform brought about the revision of the old curricula. The curriculum of the elementary school (grades 1-

9) was ready in 1970. It was a subject-based curriculum and was the last national curriculum in the Finnish compulsory education system. Since 1985 only the outlines for a curriculum have been given by the Ministry of Education; the details of the curriculum are presently planned at the local level.

2. The tradition of individualism in recent school experimentations at the primary level

In the early 1980s especially Finnish primary school teachers became interested in the child-centred theory of education. It seems quite surprising that - when for instance in the United States and to some extent in Great Britain child-centred movements of the 1960s and the 1970s were effectively swept out by the rising educational conservatism of the 1980s - in Finland primary teachers' interest in progressive pedagogical innovations steadily increased during the 1980s. Two explanations for this development are offered below.

When in Great Britain and in the United States under the social conditions of the late 1960s and the early 1970s the progressive theory of education helped to stimulate pedagogical reforms, in Finland the new elementary school system was introduced. The changing and changed conditions in education required years of adjustment for teachers. Both in pre-service and in-service education of primary teachers in those times, student teachers and teachers had foremost to solve concrete problems concerning teaching and methods to be used in the new elementary school, not problems concerning their own educational philosophy. When the framework and demands of the elementary education had become familiar in the 1980s, teachers had time to create pedagogics of their own. For some teachers, this meant progressive pedagogics.

Moreover, during the 1980s it was quite easy to organize progressive innovations in Finnish primary schools because the period of economic prosperity did not come to an end in Finland until the end of the 1980s. Even though the system of educational administration was still centralized in the early 1980s, the advocates of the administration nevertheless encouraged teachers to experiment with all kinds of pedagogical innovations. Reforms in conformity with the conservative policy of education were started only at the beginning of the

1990s. As a whole one must, however, add that in Finland changes in the political climate have had little direct, immediate effect on teachers' work in schools.

The central concept developed in the projects, started in Finnish primary schools in the 1980s, is the integration of curriculum. Daily lessons, which were dependent on the subject-based curriculum of the Finnish elementary school, were experienced as formal and boring by some primary level teachers (and schools). By substituting an integrated curriculum (themes, projects etc.) for the subject-based one, they have tried to eliminate school days consisting of lessons only focused on teaching a skill (e.g. reading, writing, math etc.).

Themes are mostly determined by local traditions and current events. Some time normally spent in the classroom has been replaced by activities in environments outside of the school. Sarkkinen and Kauppi (1988, 34), for instance, write that "the most important objects of studies are local geography and history, the village and its inhabitants, the succession of the seasons, and festivals". In the Kärsämäki Project "children have 'grandma and grandpa' who transmit to them cultural inheritance from as many points of view as possible" (Karsikas & Karsikas 1988, 13).

The experimental teachers have at least one area of interest in common with John Dewey's pedagogical thinking; i.e. the relationship of the school to the home and surrounding community. Dewey's plea was that there should be an indissoluble link between learning in school and learning out of school. That this kind of pedagogical solution has appealed to the Finnish progressivists of the 1980s seems natural when taking into account the fact that Finnish progressive schools have mainly been, and still are, small rural schools in the countryside.

Although Finnish progressivism utilized part of Dewey's idea to resolve the dualism between the school and society, it did not insist that the school itself be a real community, exhibiting numerous shared interests and open communication as Dewey (1943; 1966) did. Nor did Finnish progressivists see the school as a miniature democracy. Consequently, the Finnish progressivists have clearly neglected the emancipatory potential of the progressive theory of education - its potential for changing society and children in that society. One can even say that because of the emphasis placed on the past times and local traditions, their progressivism has been socially neutral and static.

Since all human learning is ultimately social in Dewey's framework, it means that learning proceeds most efficiently and effectively if there is interaction among the persons learning. In this light when examining the working schemes of the Finnish progressivists one can conclude that they have constructed a (false) equation between progressive education and individualism; they assume - at least implicitly - that child-centredness in education means mainly individualized learning.

3. Ungraded schooling: a theme of the 1990s

The first experiments with ungraded schooling (i.e. "express streaming", where schools offer some children in a class possibilities to speed up their progress in schooling) were being conducted in the Finnish upper secondary school already in the early 1970s. At present, a noticeable part of the Finnish upper secondary schools are working according to the principle of ungradedness. In the 1990s some primary schools have also been interested in ungraded schooling.

Ungraded schooling at the primary level means that even newcomers to school can, in these experimentations, start their regular attendance at school without being a member of a secure environment with a stable group of students. A student can join a group - according to her/his needs and abilities - on certain occasions and when studying certain subjects that some other groups of students are studying which are different from their own group. Mostly those students who are competent benefit from ungraded schooling: they can speed up their studying. Less competent children - usually from socially disadvantaged groups (from immigrant families etc.) - have to stay in the core group.

Ungraded schooling should not be confused with grade combinations. In Finland we have a lot of small primary schools - mostly in the countryside - where children of different age groups are studying in the same classroom. This usually means combinations of grade levels 1-2, 3-4 or 3-6, although other combinations are also possible. An essential difference in an ungraded class as compared to a grade combination is that, in the latter, children form a stable group for the period of one school year.

Instead of differentiating the teaching-learning process in a solid core group of children (e.g. by means of different kinds of tasks or duties, by means of cooperative learning, etc.), the supporters of ungraded schooling break down the traditional class formation. According to the dilemma language proposed by Berlak and Berlak (1981, 154-155) an ungraded Finnish primary school emphasizes, from the very beginning, learning as an individual task and attributes very little to learning as a social task. From the individual perspective learning is a private encounter between child and material or between child and teacher. From the social perspective learning proceeds best - most efficiently and effectively - if there is interaction among the persons learning.

4. Problems in ungraded primary education

Behind the two opponent terms of the dilemma language used by Berlak and Berlak (i.e. learning is individual v. learning is social), one often finds different kinds of pedagogical practices derived from two different aims - or traditions - of education (see, e.g. Cagan 1978): the goals of freedom, autonomy and personal liberation on the one hand, and the goals of social responsibility, altruism and collective participation on the other. Dearden (1984, 110) presents a similar view: "When I wrote my 'Philosophy of Primary Education' (in 1968) I was at my most optimistic, hoping that at least the broad outlines of the curriculum could somehow be derived from autonomy as the central principle of education. I no longer think that. It now seems to me obvious that at least morality requires a separate root, since it is perfectly possible, conceptually, for a person to be highly autonomous yet amoral. The rational egoist is a case in point."

Dunlop (1986) asks how the promotion of autonomy might be thought to be incompatible with the education of emotions. He concludes that the following elements with a stress on autonomy can be picked out: (1) concentration on the will, (2) detachment from and mistrust of life, (3) detachment from and mistrust of social being, (4) detachment from and mistrust of 'self', and (5) tendency towards self-centredness. "Education becomes thought of as a matter of *equipping* young people, not of forming or developing them. Having rather than Being is the order of the day", Dunlop concludes.

In addition, he describes the education of the emotions as involving: (1) promotion of receptiveness, (2) encouragement of spontaneity, (3) fostering of social feelings, (4) promotion of self-acceptance, and (5) encouragement of self-transcendence. Dunlop then points out that "The education of the emotions is thus primarily concerned with forming and developing children. The emphasis is on Being rather than Having."

Dunlop's statements assert that the question cannot be of the form either autonomy (self-conscious thought and will) or emotion and feeling. Human life requires both. Moreover, he concludes that "It is possible that there can be no return, at least without a complete breakdown of civilisation, to those conditions of life where a better balance between feeling and will is possible. What I am sure of is that we cannot *plan* to return to a more natural state of things. Planning is the result of will and is, by and large, the enemy of spontaneity, receptiveness, openness, humility and reverence. What we have to do is somehow 'get our heads down' again, by ceasing to be obsessed by efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and other similar 'rational' values and turning more towards useless though fulfilling things like beauty, dignity, nobility, radiant goodness, faithfulness and other unfashionable virtues."

How are these assertions associated with ungraded schooling at the primary level? In an ungraded class, preference has been given to the individualistic goals of autonomy and capability. The rapidity of your school attendance - e.g. how soon you reach the courses of the "next grade" - depends as a matter of fact totally on how good you are in the "basics". Mere interest in studying some subject area is not enough because the system demands that a student be a good individual learner. Neither will social responsibility, altruism, collective participation nor moral virtues help one to progress faster in her/his studies.

It is, of course, possible to emphasize learning as social in an ungraded school, too. At least you have a group of students with you during the lessons even if it is not a stable one. Thus, you are able to organize the work according to different kinds of group formations; it is possible to utilize "the separate root" proposed by Dearden above. However, the teaching-learning process is in some respects insufficient. Unstable, varying groups do not have - as a whole - common interests or shared concerns, which are important for forming and maintaining the solidarity of any social group. Dewey (1966, 83) sees this very clearly when he defines the value of a democratic society according to the standard: "How numerous and varied are the interests which are consciously shared?"

Dewey also writes (op. cit., 358) that "the measure of the worth of the administration, curriculum, and methods of instruction of the school is the extent to which they are animated by a social spirit. And the great danger which threatens school work is the absence of conditions which make possible a permeating social spirit; this is the great enemy of effective moral training." When some children - and mostly the same ones - are moving to and fro the core group, the conditions put forth by Dewey are threatened.

Communal solidarity is only one element of the educative process that we lose in an ungraded school. We also lose the democratic mode of education. Parents or teachers cannot simply *give* their children a democratic society. A democratic way of life must be one where the future citizens live encompassed by it, by accepting and identifying it as their own. A democratic education cultivates the capacity to carefully weigh out decisions and to develop social responsibility in children. As Gutmann (1993) states, "Education entails authority, but democratic educational authorities must prepare children for self-governance while they are being governed". Democratic schools are called as such because they teach students self-governance and democratic virtues.

In Finland we have a strong compulsory education system in action. Practically all the children in any age group get their mandatory education in municipal elementary schools. We have only a few Waldorf -schools and some special schools whose foundation is built on foreign language, religious movement, etc. Thus, the circumstances for democratic education have been - and still are - suitable. Children in a traditional, graded classroom make up a cross section of the whole society. It is possible for a classroom teacher - throughout the entire primary level - to give every child opportunities to get her/himself acquainted with the democratic way of life. An ungraded primary school, as an alternative, gives some students priorities according to their individual skills and abilities but, at the same time, loses its potential to be an ideal, miniature democracy.

In conclusion, more emphasis should be placed on learning as a social task. That, however, does not mean that learning as individual should be de-emphasized. At least at the primary level *every* child should experience learning *both* as a social *and* as an individual task. This demand can more easily be reached in a graded primary school than in an ungraded one.

Soltis (1991) explicates the idea above excellently when he writes: "A learning environment must be provided that nurtures understanding and respect for others and cooperative learning experiences as well as creates a ground for individually meaningful learning experiences. Structurally, in a pluralistic society where tensions between groups exist, special mixed schools could be created to bring students from many ethnic, racial, religious and other groups to study and learn together, to form up embryonic democratic communities that honour and prize diversity because of what can be accomplished by a multitalented group and individual effort. *The social structure of the school must reflect the form of social organization a society seeks to achieve."*

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Gender and educational Disadvantage:

Teenage Girls' Access to Discourses of Desire, Power and Injustice

Pam Gilbert and Rob Gilbert

The Australian study to be discussed in this paper[1] sought to address how constructions of gender intersected with and compounded various forms of educational disadvantage experienced by teenage girls. Its strategy was predominantly to listen to girls' voices as they described these experiences, and to document the girls' access to discourses they could use to name and define the various forms of educational disadvantage and risk they experienced as young women.

In the paper, the framework for the study will initially be outlined in terms of the project's rationale, theoretical underpinning, and methodological construction. The paper will then provide readings of the interview data collected from the girls, in terms of the various discourses the girls drew upon to describe their experiences.

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[1] The study formed part of a Gender Equity in Curriculum Reform Project, funded by the Department of Employment, Education and Training. One of the publications from this project is Gilbert, P. , Gilbert, R. and McGinty, S. (1993) *Girls Talk: Gender Disadvantage and Schooling*. School of Education, James Cook University/ D.E.E.T., Canberra.

Gender and Disadvantage: Framing the Study

Project rationale

The initial rationale for this project argued that, while there had been significant research investigating the educational disadvantage experienced by girls (see for instance D.E.E.T., 1988; Australian Education Council, 1991), and considerable research into disadvantage suffered by particular social groups (Griffin and Batten, 1991; Kringas and Stewart, 1992; Williams, 1987), there remained a need to draw these research emphases together to highlight the gender dimensions of disadvantage. It argued that while students from low socio-economic backgrounds, from geographically isolated communities, from non-English speaking backgrounds, and from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds, are at risk within Australian schools, girls from these various groups are even more at risk.

In addition, girls - as a specific social group - were seen to be subject to a range of other experiences which made it difficult for many of them to maximise their schooling experiences (Education Dept. of SA, 1991; Grichting, 1986). It is girls, for instance, rather than boys, who are significantly more likely to experience forms of sexual abuse and domestic violence, and the problems of teenage pregnancy, during their schooling years (Rea, 1988; Lees, 1993). And these gender-specific experiences may well occur within existing contexts of potential disadvantage, such as isolation, poverty, and cultural marginalisation (Tsolidis, 1987; Grichting, 1986; Taylor, 1986).

Consequently, the main focus of the project was to document and illustrate how girls in specific disadvantaged groups experienced these inequalities; to assist teachers to understand their experiences; and to develop proposals which responded to them [1].

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[1] The study produced a video training package for schools. See Gilbert, P., Gilbert, R. and McGinty, S. (1993) *What's Going On? Teenage Girls Talk About Tough Times.* D.E.E.T., Canberra/ School of Education, James Cook University.

Theoretical framework

The study employed research strategies developed from critical discourse analysis (see Gilbert, 1992) and feminist post-structuralist theories (as in Weedon, 1987; Walkerdine, 1990) to make readings of the research data. It examined three main questions:

1. How can we understand the processes which disadvantage girls who are socially and educationally at risk because of their gender positioning, including those who are members of groups which, for a range of reasons, have traditionally benefited least from mainstream schooling?
2. How can we understand the relationships among these processes and impacts as they work in combination for girls in particular groups and contexts?
3. How can this understanding be formed in ways which relate to the specific experiences and decisions of students and teachers in the practice of schooling?

The theoretical framework developed for this project examined two main positions.[1] First, it considered questions of definition and approach towards identifying and analysing disadvantage; secondly, it developed a way of looking at gender and disadvantage, which tried to capture how disadvantage is experienced by girls across a range of groups. The study took the position that an understanding of the processes by which gender disadvantage is produced requires a change of focus of the concept itself, from an abstract to a contextualised framing, and from an emphasis on external criteria to an understanding of the experiences of *exclusion, domination and constraint* of the disadvantaged themselves.

It argued that the operation of the dimensions of disadvantage needs to be seen as a process of production of discursive positions and material circumstances. Given the diversity, contradiction and change which characterise this process, the construction of subjectivity and the negotiation of resources, relationships and personal situation are inherently diverse for each individual. However, the challenges girls face, the discourses with which they interpret and construct these challenges, and the resources they use in the process, are not infinite and random, but are, to a significant extent, systematically patterned.

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[1] For a fuller version of this theoretical argument, see Gilbert, R. and Gilbert, P. 1994 *Analysing Gender and Disadvantage: Theoretical Perspectives.* School of Education, James Cook University/ D.E.E.T, Canberra.

For example, confronting sexuality is a challenge all girls face, however different its cultural and other variants might make it. Dominant media images are presented to girls as a group, however differently placed they are in their reading of them. As well, exclusions, domination and constraints arising from racism, isolation, and disability are widespread, however much local and individual circumstances might ameliorate them. The different opportunities offered within regional economies affect the life chances of whole communities of young people - not just of some individuals.

Exclusion results from the shutting out of the important concerns of girls. It can be a physical exclusion in their homes, when girls are abandoned by their parents or forced to live away from their family communities. It can also be a physical exclusion at school, when pregnant girls are forced to leave school; when girls are excluded from choosing traditionally male subjects by fears of harassment; or when school facilities do not meet their personal needs. Or it can be a symbolic exclusion, when girls are marked as different and inferior by racism, stereotyped family attitudes, school subject offerings, the status of male sports, or the banter and verbal exchange among male teachers and students. In all these cases, girls are reminded of their 'otherness', that there is a set of normal expectations which does not provide for their needs, or, where they are provided, which are seen as special. Their proper and reasonable desires as young women for family love, support and respect may be seriously challenged by experiences in their homes, their school communities, and their friendship groups.

Exclusion also results from *domination*, but domination goes further, in that it not only excludes girls from activities and experiences which are empowering, but intrudes on their own social space in threatening ways - a constant reminder of the power of sexuality in social relations, and the normality of male domination. As a normal part of the relations of the family, girls may well be subjected to sexual abuse, or domestic violence. As a normal part of schooling, girls may well be forced out of non-traditional studies by harassment; be subjected to verbal and physical sexual abuse as an accepted part of peer relations; be unable to participate equally in sports of their own choosing; and be forced to accommodate the dominance of male disruption in the classroom. These events and processes are disturbing in their sheer aggressiveness, but extremely powerful in their pervasiveness.

The consequences of exclusion and domination are to *constrain* girls' experience of schooling. They are unable to choose a subject without considering its gender relations; they cannot participate in classroom discussion or sport without dealing with male domination; they are not free to choose how they will dress or behave under the threat of sexist ridicule. While the incidence of these events will vary considerably from school to school and classroom to classroom, and while many schools may try to control it, this system of exclusion, domination and constraint is a fact of life for girls. And there may well be "other" facts of life. Many girls live with additional forms of injustice resulting from ethnicity, socioeconomic status or geographical isolation in their experiences of schooling. These, too, serve to exclude, dominate and constrain young women: to deny their desires, to subject them to excesses of patriarchal power, and to treat them unjustly.

The Study

The girls in the study came from four Australian state high schools and included girls from rural and isolated communities as well as girls from provincial cities. Approximately 90 girls who had been identified as "disadvantaged" by their school were interviewed for the study. These girls included Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander girls as well as girls from a variety of minority ethnic backgrounds; girls who had serious financial problems; girls who had no family support or were in foster care; girls who lived on the streets; girls who were achieving poorly at school; girls who had been sexually abused; teenage mothers; and girls who were pregnant or known to be sexually active. Most of the girls were between

14 and 16 years of age, and all of them were trying to stay on at school and to gain educational qualifications.

One of the aims of the project was to have young women speak about and name their experiences of schooling. To do this, multiple and relatively open-ended interviews[1] were used as a way of documenting how girls positioned themselves within discursive networks of family, peer and school relationships and how they made sense of the experiences of being a girl in those various sites of family, adolescent culture and the school (see, for example, Roman and Christian-Smith, 1989; Gilbert and Taylor, 1991; McRobbie, 1991).

The young women were asked to describe, by examples, some of their experiences: to 'name' and give significance to the stories through which they read and made sense of their lives, and through which they were read and positioned by the cultures of family, peers and the school (Walkerdine, 1990; Davies, 1993). It was hoped that through the documentation of these experiences, multiple readings of the gender dimensions of disadvantage could be made.

Reading the Interviews:
Girls' Stories of Disadvantage

The transcripts made from the girls' interviews were read from within the theoretical framework outlined above. As the researchers working on this project, we were interested in analysing how, as young teenage women, the girls in the study read their 'disadvantage': how they read their positioning as girls within the culture of their families, their peers and the school, and how positions of 'disadvantage' and femininity were connected in their experience of schooling. We were also interested in what the girls seemed to be unable to document: in the aspects of their lives that they had difficulty naming and exploring, and in the experiences they seemed unable to make visible and explicit.

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[1] An experienced interviewer - Dr Sue McGinty - conducted the taped audio-interviews with the young women. The girls were first interviewed in groups, and then individually or in pairs. An interview schedule was drawn up prior to meeting with the girls, but was adapted to meet the girls' talk in the sessions.

The interview data was initially transcribed, and the transcripts read several times before being cut and pasted into different sub-sections for analysis. The girls' explanations and descriptions of their homes and their families, of race and racism, of "being a girl", of the construction of female sexuality, of dealing with boys and masculinity, and of school structures and organisations, provided the bulk of the research data. This collection of data was then analysed in terms of the discourses the girls had accessed to discuss these issues.

In this paper, three different sets of discourses accessed by the girls - discourses of desire and longing, of power and violence, and of injustice and inequality - will be described and discussed.

Discourses of Desire

The "happy family" ...

During the study we interviewed teenage girls who were living within a range of different family settings - and a range of different geographical locations. Many of the girls lived in isolated small town communities where 'everyone knows everyone', and where families had often experienced two generations of unemployment. Many of the girls had relatively unstable family relationships, and moved from one set of relatives to another, or from one set of friends to another. Travel and moving from school to school was common -- as was general absenteeism from school through shifting and unstable living conditions.

The girls were living with grandmothers, with aunts, with step mothers, with older sisters, and often making their own arrangements to care for themselves and younger brothers and sisters. Life was not always easy.

> *... there were 12 in my family. That was two families put together, and my dad and my step-mum separated and so there's .. Dad's got four girls and Denise, that's my step-mum, she's got five boys and one girl. She doesn't live with us any more, because dad and her are divorced and dad's in jail. I'm living with my sister and*

> *brother and my other sister and Matthew and myself and it is a bit hard, you know, because you get a lot of responsibility... I've got to do everything, so it's a little bit hard, mixing it with your schoolwork and things like that as well.*
> (Christine)

Being positioned as a "girl" within homes and families brought a range of tensions which the girls could articulate well. They were often caring for younger (and older) brothers and sisters, and performing household chores in a fairly demanding and time-consuming way. The expectations of them seemed clear: they were to act as "little mothers" in what could be defined as particularly stereotypical readings of "motherhood". Several of the girls complained about this, and blamed their mothers for not taking "the responsibilities of a mother".

> *My mum just took off and left my brothers and sisters here and you know, didn't care and she just took off, and we had to find our own way to go through school and find a place to live... [She] would never be home. She'd always be out doing whatever she wanted to do and I would be always at home trying to study and look after my sister and you know, cook dinner and all that kind of stuff... she'd never take the responsibilities of a mother.* (Peta)

This was not helped by the relatively stereotypical positions on femininity that seemed to dominate in the girls' families and cultures. Most of the girls saw themselves as being at odds with the traditional expectations of femininity and masculinity that prevailed within their 'family' groups. They did not want to be carers and nurturers of boys and men. They saw themselves as different from their mothers -- *I don't want to turn out anything like my mother .. (Noni).* -- and spoke strongly about the inequalities between their lives and the lives of their brothers.

And yet the girls longed for "family", and longed to take up positions as 'daughters' within storylines of family harmony and support. Several of them described their desire to have a "normal" family, and "normal" mothers and fathers.

> *I cried and cried because I just thought I'd love to have a normal family again. I'd love to have a real mum and dad and I'd love to be able to like go out on Sundays and you know like normal families do. But it's been really hard ...* (Eva)

This was particularly noticeable in terms of the girls' constructions of their fathers -- figures who were often not only physically absent, but who played almost no financial, emotional, or nurturing role in the girls' lives. When the girls did mention their missing fathers, it was either to earn the approval of "the father", or to acknowledge the physical power of patriarchy. For instance, even though Christine's father was in jail, and she was living in a difficult set of home circumstances as a result, she wanted her father to be proud of her.

> *I want to do something with my life. I don't want to be a dole bludger or anything like that. I want my dad to be proud of me.* (Christine)

Love , Sexuality and Moral Virtuousness

Girls' talk in this study about love, sex, contraception and pregnancy was a constant reminder of how their heterosexual relationships were almost totally constructed and practised within competing discourses of feminine desire and longing, and patriarchal power.

> *A lot of girls say yes to sex when they don't really mean it, just to make their boyfriends, you know, be with them or something... That's kind of a thing like they don't feel good about themselves if they don't have their boy with them all the time ...* (Anna)

The girls knew and acknowledged these tensions. They recognised the risks attendant upon heterosexual activity, yet they still desired love and inserted themselves into romantic storylines of heterosexual activity. Several of the girls interviewed suggested that girls entered into sexual relationships with boys because they wanted to have someone to "love" them -- to be "in love" -- and one of the girls remarked:

> *One thing that ... they should teach us at school is that sex and love are not the same thing. They sleep with someone and they're automatically in love with them. A lot of girls get misled by that. I was... You think if you have sex with a guy he's going to love you the next day but it's not the case. The girls should be taught that.* (Trish)

The girls felt pressured to have sexual relationships with boys that they didn't particularly like, and were conscious of the double standard in sexual relationships that made it hard for them to avoid being labelled as morally bankrupt.

> *Yeah ... a girl sleeps with a lot of males they're a slut but if a male sleeps with a lot of girls, they're a stud. So you can't win either way.* (Tonya)

> *Well I reckon that boys don't respect girls as much as they, as much as they want us to respect them. Because they're the male figure and they expect respect from us. But ... they can whistle at us, they can call us sexy, but as soon as we talk about them, you know, and say "Oh he's nice," you know, "he's lovely and everything", you know, they sort of get "Oh she shouldn't be saying that", you know. "It's not what she should be saying". "Shouldn't be talking about us like that." But it's alright for them to talk about us, like that - women, girls, whatever, like that. But it's not alright for us to do that in the same way.* (Rhonda)

The line between promiscuity and acceptable sexuality was difficult to traverse and not always clear. The girls, as well as the boys, seemed to regulate behaviour by positioning those girls who went beyond acceptable boundaries of sexual relationships as 'sluts'. Their categorisation of a 'slut' was someone who was active, and indiscriminate in sexual relationships. Sluts slept around; they were 'party animals'. And girls who got pregnant, were often liable to be identified as 'sluts'. To be positioned as a 'slut' within the school culture was highly un-desirable: it signalled that girls had not traversed the line between sexuality and moral virtuousness appropriately, and it indicated that they might be unable to position themselves successfully within storylines of romance, marriage and family in the future.

But the girls needed "boyfriends" - masculine figures to vouch for their sexuality - or they would be un-desirable as feminine subjects. Consequently the term 'slut' seemed often to serve as a regulatory device to keep girls' sexuality in check and to make them dependent upon male patronage and approval. It seemed as if "the girlfriend" was a potential sexual partner who could be controlled, because she would use her sexuality to please boys: she "loved" them. However "the slut" seemed to be a sexual girl who might be "out" of control. Rather than please boys sexually, her main interest seemed to be in pleasing herself.

> *I think last year I was more outspoken. Just in my attitude I was more outspoken .. in what I wanted, the way I put it across sort of thing, I wasn't really - I was just a little slut last year...*

Girls were caught here in a series of binarisms, which they could recognise, but do little about. They wanted independence, but knew the difficulties of being a girl without male protection; they wanted freedom of choice to engage in heterosexual activity, but knew that they would have trouble keeping a boyfriend if they withheld sex; they wanted to talk about boys and sexuality in the way that boys did, but knew that if they did they'd be labelled sluts or tarts; they didn't want to get pregnant, but knew that boys would not use contraception, and that girls who carried condoms, or who were on the pill, were branded as sluts.

For girls already positioned within discourses of disadvantage through ethnicity or socio-economic status, this additional positioning as "slut" was particularly worrying. Unlike girls who were comfortably positioned within discourses of class privilege and material comfort, these girls had few material resources to support them in a shift to claim sexual freedom or moral virtuousness. They also had limited opportunities to insert themselves into storylines of school success and achievement, so that the desire for a career or an independent life might allow for a re-reading of their desire for love and successful heterosexuality.

Discourses of Power

Violence and Abuse in Families and Communities

The desire for happy families and loving heterosexual relationships clashed with the girls' experiences of the patriarchal power and violence of male family members to women and girls.

> *.. our parents, all of our fathers and uncles, they'll hit first and talk later. Even if we're not in the wrong or something, they'll hit first and talk later* (Anna)

However despite such experiences of domestic violence, or other experiences of incest and sexual abuse, the girls did not have ways of talking about the violence as *gendered* violence, or as unacceptable violence. The violence was more an expected part of life: a realistic view of what could (and did) often happen to girls living in difficult family and economic conditions.

> *I suppose I was sexually abused by my uncle when I was 12-13 and I don't know, since then I was never - I just withdrew I suppose from everything. I hardly had any friends or nothing like that. I was just on my own sort of thing.* (Kim)

> *My mum's an alcoholic... I'm in a foster home now, but I go up there and visit her sometimes ... she's married to an alcoholic too and they have fights at home all the time when they get drunk. When they have their fights I usually stick up for mum because she's a bit gone in the head. He goes to hit her ... but I just step in and tell him to*

> *leave her alone, but mum usually gets a black eye or I get a black eye.* (Eva)

The girls were often frightened - but tried to cope alone with the effect of family violence on their lives at school.

> *It's sort of fairly scary when it's happening. Like sometimes you lay in bed and you hear all this arguing going on, sometimes you hear thumping on the wall and you wonder what's going on and then maybe you hear the car pull out or something and you'll race in and you'll see your mum all bleeding, or bruised or crying or something and it really puts you down. I can remember going into school after I heard, saw that with my dad bashing up my mum and that, and I felt really scary.* (Eva)

Again, the girls' positioning within other material circumstances of disadvantage did not make it easy to be protected from such violence. During the course of this study, one of the girls came to school visibly distressed after having been sexually assaulted while doing paid housecleaning for a male 'family friend' before school. She was anxious about complaining or reporting it, because she needed the job, and the man was well-known to her parents. Other girls spoke of having to stay with 'family friends' who constantly fought and argued through drinking bouts, and then of coming to school to sleep, because they were so tired.

Teenage girls living alone had particular problems, many of which were made easier if they could have a male 'protector'. 'Opportunistic prostitution' was recognised as a realistic approach to having to live outside of the protection of the family. It was not uncommon for girls who lived alone to have to fend off advances from male landlords or male tenants, and to have to find ways to protect themselves from male anger and violence. In one particularly telling and bizarre scenario, one of the girls mentioned how she hadn't been able to come to school the day before, because she'd been unable to iron her uniform: the ironing board was in the room where one of the male tenants lived, and she didn't dare wake him up by going in to get it. She stayed home from school, rather than risk being beaten up. The fear of male violence and abuse was a constant reality in the lives of many of the girls.

Harassment at school

The school context was not dissimilar. The forms of violence the girls experienced at school ranged from smutty asides, which positioned the girls as sexual subjects and therefore as able to be controlled and dominated by men, through to enforced sex.

> *They've got sex on their mind all the time and they take it out on you and say all these things ...* (Lara)

> *Stupid bitches, losers, bangers. You know they make up really stupid things that don't mean anything, but to them it's just a big laugh if they see you getting upset. They just laugh over it. You know they say to all their mates, "Look I made her really upset" and all this.* (Kate)

> *Like you feel like what they call you. They call you a whore and you feel like it. Because they actually come up behind you and you know touch you on the bum, or "how much do you charge for an hour baby".* (Kate)

> *There's a couple of really - You just feel like getting up and punching them... They're just, I don't know, they're just annoying. They're really disgusting... They always touch you...* (Sue)

> *You've got them on you all the time and they're fighting a point to get you to do things that you really don't want to do but you do it anyway to be accepted* (Peta)

The girls had to accept full responsibility for contraception, in the face of fairly obvious male refusal to purchase or wear condoms.

> *He says, well if you want sex, you get the condoms..* (Lorraine)

The girls seemed to accept this situation, even though it was dangerous for them in two ways: dangerous in that they could easily conceive, and dangerous in that the carrying of condoms positioned them as potential sluts. They did not feel powerful enough to demand anything else.

> *Well they don't really care whether they get her pregnant or not* (Connie)

> *... it was my own fault. Because we didn't use anything.* (Christine)

> *Like guys sort of like don't have to feel that there's much responsibility... It's not like a girl gets pregnant so it's her fault because she said yes. And like most of them force themselves on her anyway, so what can they say? Not - er - "I think I'm going to get pregnant". And they say "oh you're paranoid and ... "* (Josie)

In addition, it was often difficult for the girls to access contraceptives. In small country communities, for instance, girls could not visit the local pharmacy to buy condoms, or the local family doctor for contraceptive pill prescriptions, for fear of being branded "sluts".

The girls were constantly reminded of the physical and symbolic power the boys had over them: power to humiliate them, hurt them, rape them, and position them as unsuccessful or failed "girls" who were of no interest to men and boys. The girls could name this imbalance of power between the construction of masculinity and femininity - and provide examples of incidents from school life that constantly reinforced it. They were frightened to work in non-traditional classes like

Metalwork, or Marine Studies, because they might be the only girl in the class.

> *I wanted to be a mechanic but I don't know no more....*

> *I just got all my gear and everything, but I'm just frightened the boys will give me a bit of trouble and everything, you know... The teacher wants me to stay in it 'cause then I'd be the only girl in high school to go through with it all and everything and he gave the boys a big lecture and said if you give Paula any trouble and everything you're in trouble but I don't know if they'll listen to him.* (Paula)

> *I was the only girl in a classroom of boys...*

> *The guys just made things so difficult... They sort of like made sexist comments all the time and you know ... some of the things were really disgusting you know. They'd walk up and a couple of them would come up and stick their arms around you or they'd pinch you on the bum as you walked past ...*

> *When we went snorkelling and that I got a bit of flack because being the only girl I had to wear togs and a shirt and they're all just prancing around in jocks and it was a little bit uncomfortable. I went and bought myself a full length wet suit because they used to be a bit crude..*

> *It started getting a little bit worse and they started saying, you know, "she'd be good for a bonk", and stuff like that. And then they started, they'd walk past and they'd pinch me on the bum or sometimes two or three of them would bail me up in a corner and start saying stuff. ..* (Bev)

And they were sometimes subjected to unwelcome and unpleasant displays of sexual power by male teachers.

> *... Mr X used to say crude comments and sort of stuff like that... He sort of like had nicknames for everybody, all the girls ... like Dolly Parton and stuff like that... He called the boys by their names, but all the girls he didn't. He never called them by their names. They were always, he always had, I don't know other names.* (Bev)

> *I don't want to go to any male teacher now ... My old teacher, if you were leaning across a desk doing your work, he would come up and look down the girls' t-shirts so we all got in the habit of sitting up straight and you'd be thinking about it all the time because he was always checking you out* (Kirsten)

For girls already battling other odds to stay at school - difficult family lives and living situations, limited and inadequate material resources, racist taunts, fear of pregnancy and sexual disease - these unwanted and humiliating attacks of male power at school often served to make truancy or leaving more attractive. Far from providing a supportive and enriching environment, school cultures often reinforced positions of powerlessness and abuse for many teenage girls.

Discourses of Disadvantage

Poverty and Unemployment

Discourses of disadvantage were not as easily accessible to the girls as were discourses of desire and power. Their home lives were undeniably economically difficult: money was often short for school materials, for social activities, for clothing, and for food. And yet this seemed to be an area of injustice that the girls seemed to be less concerned with, and less able to describe. They explained some of the economic problems they faced, and the implications these had for schooling, but they did not see these problems as particularly unjust or disadvantageous.

> *... it costs money for these things and I'm staying with Trish and she hasn't got much money...*
>
> *I've got a detention for not cooking. I go to cooking classes and I haven't been able to cook, because like I don't want to ask Trish for money every Tuesday, so I've got to have this like talk with my teacher and sort out something...* (Peta)
>
> *I've got to pay for everything myself. It would be alright if I was still at home because mum and dad would help out, like I could pay them back. It's alright in a way 'cause I can pay it off...*
>
> *I wanted to wear uniform so I didn't stand out. I don't look like an actual student but now I do.... With my uniforms, I had to get the money right away but. I could have lay-by-ed but they only have four week layby and that's only two payments really so I had to pay half off and then half off the next pay...* (Tonya)

Lack of money was recognised as a problem in terms of how other students accepted you at school and in terms of how you were able to position yourself as a "girl" at school. But, again, few of the girls regarded their economic disadvantage seriously or with passion. For instance there was little anger at the injustice that had made it possible for some fifteen-year old girls to be spending $100 on their Year 10 Formal Night clothes and make-up - and yet for others to be unable to afford to go.

> *Some of the girls, yeah, they're really ... Like for the year 10 formal last year ... some of the girls they spent like $100 on getting their hair and makeup done by a professional ... there was one girl, and like her dress was nothing like anyone else's. It wasn't fashionable or anything. Everyone looked at her and laughed and you know picked on her and everything else.* (Peta)

Similarly the different access students had to leisure clothes was noticed, but not strongly objected to. It was "hard" to go without - but you got used to it.

> *It's hard when you see people getting around in these, you know, Piping Hot shirts and Billabong shorts and everything up to date and you haven't got that kind of, you don't have that clothing and you're, in the society you're put down because of it. You know, you haven't got these IN clothes and what not.* (Peta)

Not surprisingly, when asked if they thought they were "disadvantaged", none of the girls positioned themselves in that way. They always commented on how there were people worse off than they were. They did not see economic disparities as socially unjust.

Many of the girls were quite confident that their lives would be different from the lives of their mothers or of others around them. Their desire to 'be' someone - to insert themselves into a storyline that gave them a career and a future - overrode economic reality.

> *I don't want to be one of those funny dropouts who just work in a supermarket or have a hundred kids by the time you're twenty or anything like that, sort of like something like my mum was* .. (Lorraine)

> *I want to do something with my life. I don't want to be a dole bludger or anything like that.* (Christine)

Race and racism

The girls in the study came from a range of different racial and ethnic groups, and talked about experiences they had had as culturally 'different' girls in Australian schools. For many of them, discourses of racism were very visible in their lives.

> *... my mum's a Filipino and she, we came over here and she's married an Australian now...*

> *When I was in primary school ... they used to call me like a Chinese and that when I'm not even that. So I didn't say nothing to, about it. I just thought, oh, went on what I did, and did the same things I did. But, they kept coming and coming and when I, I spoke up about it once, told the teacher and that, she didn't do much, she just told them to stop it. But it kept happening and happening. So, I just sort of left it and tried to ignore them.* (Rhonda)

> *We do things ourselves. We can't depend on others, like white people. You know, we don't get much help in, you don't get privileges.... Like say if there was a job, a white person would get more preference towards a black person... we have to work harder.* (Sue)

The particular difficulties associated with being a girl, as well as being culturally different, were sometimes obvious. How was a girl to be positioned as black, and yet also as "a nice young girl"? Could moral virtuousness be easily read when a girl was positioned as non-white?

> *It's like some people they think, oh she's white, she has to act white and polite and you know, really nice. A nice young girl. And other people say, oh she's black, you know, she's trying to be real posh and everything because she's half white and half black. So it's just stupid.* (Sandra)

As well, some of the girls commented on how girls were treated differently from boys in their cultures.

> *... because you're a boy you must be better than your sister. I feel very angry sometimes, so I really try...* (Miriam)

> *Some parents say that if we have money or anything, we just spend for boys. They should have a good future. Girls are not important.* (Karin)

> *Girls are in the kitchen all the time, this is our culture... They expect us to be in the kitchen all the time. 24 hours a day. Before we're allowed to go anywhere we've got to clean up. We're not allowed to leave the house... We've got to clean our brother's room up.* (Sue)

Equity and Feminism

Readings like these of gender equity and gender justice were common for most of the girls. They were aware of inequalities and injustices in the social construction of femininity and masculinity, and of how unfair family and school practices often were for girls. Many of them were angry at not being able to do what boys could do; of being treated differently by families; of being limited in the opportunities available to them.

> *Well, if you're a girl you can't do what the boys do and that... They treat you different. Just because you're a girl you're weak you know. But a boy: they're real macho and proud to be a man or whatever they think they are.* (Sandra)

They said how they did not want to have to be "ladies" - a term that seemed to suggest for several of the girls a narrow and restricted set of positions for women. "Ladies" couldn't go to certain places, go out alone, behave in certain ways. "Ladies" had to stay home and cook, clean and care for men. This construction crossed cultural boundaries. One of the Aboriginal girls noted that:

> *Oh they get to go everywhere and girls, they're to act like ladies and that, from way back I suppose. Ladies always act like ladies and men got to go to work and ladies got to stay home and cook and that. It's a load of rubbish.* (Leanne)

And it was the same for an Anglo girl who was trying to bring up her brothers and sisters on her own.

> *... you're supposed to be a lady, you know. And there's a lot of females that don't want to be like*

> *that. They want to be out there and be like the guys, but they're put into this thing, you're not supposed to do that . You're a lady. And a lot of them rebel against that and that's when they start misbehaving in school and getting in with the wrong crowd and stuff like that.* (Peta)

Girls from a range of cultural groups noted the difference in school uniforms for boys and girls, in school support for girls' and boys' sporting teams, and in the provision of school facilities for girls and boys. Girls could not be comfortable at school in the clothes the school expected them to wear because of the way they were continually positioned by boys and male teachers. They were conscious of being viewed as sexual subjects who had to keep their legs together when sitting in school skirts, and who couldn't lean over or bend over when around boys and male teachers.

> *The boys can lay back like this and they can just spread their legs and we can't because we have to wear skirts and we should be able to wear shorts and be just as relaxed at school as the boys are.* (Liz)

They also had experienced how male sport had been constructed as the 'real' school sport, and how girls' sports were marginalised and secondary. Their needs as menstruating adolescent girls were also not met through school facilities, in terms of toilets, tampon vending machines, and adequate private shower facilities. They saw that being a girl meant being treated as a second-class citizen within the school.

> *When there's football people come, they always use the girls' toilets and then when the girls need to go to the toilet we can't go.* (Liz)

They were also angry about the monopolisation of classroom time by boys, and the way the boys positioned themselves in classrooms to make learning difficult.

> *... we don't do nothing in our class. We just sit there and we wait for the boys to shut up, 'cause the teacher says "I've had enough of this, we're*

> *just going to wait now until they're all quiet." And we wait there, wait there, wait there. And they never shut up, and we're waiting there 15 minutes and the next thing you know the bell's gone and we're out. So we've done nothing.* (Carla)

> *They don't listen to the teacher. The teacher's always yelling at them, telling them to shut up and do your work and something. They're their own boss.* (Lesley)

> *Like in Life Ed the boys don't take it seriously. Us girls take it seriously and we'd have an open group discussion and all they'd do is laugh about it and make jokes and all that... I think we should have a teacher more in control of the situation and not let the boys take control of the class and make jokes ... (when) we're trying to be serious.* (Peta)

The girls read the boys' behaviour as inequitable and they regarded many school practices as discriminatory and unjust. Feminist discourses of recognising patriarchal power and privilege, and of valuing women's ways of being and knowing, were accessible to many of the girls, if only within certain contexts. For instance, many of the girls described 'bitchiness' and fighting between groups of girls and they lamented it. Girls were seen to have special qualities that could be used effectively to work co-operatively.

> *Girls need a lot of self esteem and self confidence. They can't rely on the guys because the guys don't care* (Tonya)

> *Sometimes girls can contain their tempers and .. We're more mature than them ... Men are, try to be men. Fellas think that the only way a fight can be solved is using fighting, and like sometimes girls -- they will fight -- but sometimes they just sit down and work it out...* (Sheryl)

> *All of us girls stick together and if we have a problem at home we come to school and we talk to the other girls and that helps us, 'cause we let them know what's going on and they, we just talk to each other about our problems at home and at school and stuff.* (Melissa)

The girls valued female friendship, support, and understanding, and they recognised the constraints on women through gender relations of power.

Access and Agency: Reading Disadvantage

Throughout this study we were continually impressed by the girls' determination to read their lives positively and optimistically in the face of difficult economic conditions, discriminatory cultural prejudice, and overt patriarchal domination. To do this, they often positioned themselves within the discourses of desire that were described earlier - discourses that inserted them into happy and functional families, and into loving and responsive relationships with boys. Discourses within which they could be agentic.

> *Yeah, if you think negative, and it's all going to come down, you know. It's not going to work. But if you've got a light at the end of the tunnel, you'll get there one day.* (Christine)

They generally had confidence in their abilities to turn their disadvantages around and to be different from the girls that their families or their friends or their teachers expected.

> *I have great expectations of myself. I really want to get somewhere, and I'm pushing myself to do this. My parents don't like it. They don't want me to go as far as I can go. You see I chose all Maths-Science subjects and they said "You can't do that, you'll have to change" ... they're sort of like trying to bring me back... because they think I'm pushing myself too much.* (Debbie)

> *Like, the sky's the limit. You aim towards whatever you want to achieve...* (Anna)

In the face of difficult, dangerous and often economically inadequate living conditions, these girls were still looking for ways to find something at school that could help them make futures that would be different from the positions of domination, abuse, and discrimination that they experienced in the social networks around them. What they needed more of from the schools they attended, was the opportunity to look directly at the social and material structures impinging upon their lives, and at the way in which these structures positioned them as young women. They needed access to discourses of class and privilege, as well as to discourses of equity and feminism, and they needed opportunities to confront and make explicit the way their positions as young women impacted upon their lives within particular socio-economic and ethnic groups.

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The Music Video as educational Text

Susanne V. Knudsen

There have been three historical phases in the development of the music video.

In *its earliest phase,* the video shows a popular group or singer performing in their characteristic style and genre. In *the second phase* the performance is intermingled with a narrative mini-film: this is a convention which dates back to the Beatles. Some of the mini-films are structured to include "empty places" that the audience can use as fields of creativity.[1] *The third phase* is the rock video as we know it today, with emphatic use of sound and picture and without coherence or narrative structures. The rock video is fragmentary and has floating boundaries between fiction and reality.

It should be emphasized, however, that music videos are in a state of continual change, and that there are many mixed forms. One of their characteristic features is that they often quote other music videos, TV-commercials or films.

Music videos must be considered as a new kind of teaching material in response to the need to qualify pupils for life in a changing society where they will be bombarded with information and exposed more and more to technological communications. In this new culture, music, moving pictures and the computer are paramount.

Hip hop is becoming increasingly prevalent in the youth culture of the 90s, with more black hip hop groups and more young people than ever on the television. Introducing the youth culture in school is a way of making visible the contradictions which exist in every class. Some pupils prefer hip hop, others are hooked on techno, and another group are more involved with sports clubs. A great deal of intolerance can arise in the class when the pupils present their different styles of music and leisure time activities, and it is possible for them to develop a more open attitude to other pupils' choice of music and youth culture when they have seen examples and discussed them in class. When rock videos featuring hip hop groups are presented to 14-17 year-old pupils they can discuss images of hostility, violence and racism,[1] and such topics as social, generational and gender differences become more visible.

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[1]. Wolfgang Iser *The Act of Reading,* Baltimore og London 1978.

An example of a music video that 14-year-olds elected to use in class in the spring of 1994 is "Jump" by the Afro-American hip hop group Kris Kross, whose members are of the same age as the pupils. They were very popular on MTV (Music Television from Great Britain) this spring. "Jump" shows the kids dancing in a park, dressed in hip hop clothes with wide trousers and shirts with hoods. The name of the group is printed on the clothes, thus giving publicity both to themselves and to their dress code. The music is hard rock; the words are about "how to make mad things" that will "give you something your never had", promising that "Kris Kross will make you up". This music video was chosen by pupils who wanted to present their specific kind of youth culture to others in a class. Hip hop was the preferred form of youth culture mainly of children of Turkish immigrants (especially boys) and silent, non-scholarly pupils (especially girls).

Music videos as educational texts?

It is possible to distinguish between texts that primarily have an educational function and those which can be considered as secondary educational texts. *Primary educational texts* - normally textbooks written by teachers for pupils are texts that are designed for use in teaching. However, texts about how to teach, i.e. teachers' books, also come under this category. *Secondary texts* are texts that were not originally intended for use in teaching. Possible examples are: a newspaper article read in a history lesson; a poem; or a music video.

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[1] Birgitte Tufte (researcher in masscommunication at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies) and I observed pupils in a school near Copenhagen, in the spring of 1994.

What happens to the poem when it is placed in a school anthology, or in relation to an article from a newspaper? Will the poem be understood as fact or will the article become fiction?

The music video is a secondary educational text that is often a mixture of fiction and facts. Furthermore, it represents a mode of expression that is not traditionally found in textbooks or teaching. It exists as part of a culture of leisure, and functions in the classroom as an exponent of "another" culture parallel to the teaching in the school. In a democratic school, however, it is important to focus on the individual pupil as a person with knowledge and interests to communicate to other pupils and to the teachers.

"Tekst" and "text"

A "tekst" (with the Danish "ks") has objective existence, and can be verbal or non-verbal: words on the page, or moving pictures and music. "Text" (with x) is the meaning that the receiver creates in her encounter with the "tekst" (words, pictures, etc.). In a class of 25 pupils watching a music video there is in principle 1 tekst and 25 texts (readings).[1]

Tekst

With a non-verbal tekst, picture, sound and rhythm will be of particular interest in the classroom. Here the syntactic structure of the verbal language will meet the pre-linguistic, alogical, pulsing language (such as gesture, sound and rhythm).

This work has been inspired by German research in polyaesthetics.[2] If aesthetics is to be understood as experience (Erkenntnis) derived from sense impression, then polyaesthetics is to be understood as experience derived from various senses. Since several senses contribute, from a quantitative viewpoint *more* will be communicated, and from a qualitative viewpoint, there will be *another kind* of communication.

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[1]. Stanley Fish *"Is there a Text in this Class?"*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1980.

[2]. The polyaesthetics are developed in Salzburg at Institut für Integrative Musikpädagogik und Polyästhetische Erziehung.

According to the German researchers, there are five aspects to polyaesthetics when they are used in education:[1]

1. The multimedia aspect is the mutual relations of sound, word, picture, light and movement. It can be defined as a multi-channel communication related to what happens in the use of audiovisual media.
2. The interdisciplinary aspect is the integration of the aesthetic and educational aspects of the various school subjects. Theoretical, philosophical and anthropological questions are emphasized as a basis for critical integration.
3. The aspect of the integration of traditions appears in surveys and presentations of intersecting periods. The starting-point is the historical presentation of experiences related to the senses and performances of art, which is necessary in a critical work with traditions and sources. Polyaesthetic presentations will then bring in surprise, change and new gestalt.
4. The intercultural aspect breaks with the traditional European-American perception of aesthetics, and makes room for African, Islamic, Indian, Chinese and East Asiatic cultures. This process requires comparisons, juxtapositions, corrections and beginnings.
5. The socially communicative aspect is concerned with the different demands which various social classes and groups make on art.

These aspects are illustrated in a model in which the multimedia aspect is related to sensory production, whereas the interdisciplinary aspect is related to reception as analysis (see figure). The place of the intercultural aspect is between production and reception. The integrating traditions and the socially communicative aspect are integrated in the other aspects.

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[1]. Wolfgang Roscher, ed. *Polyästhetische Erziehung. Klänge - Texte - Bilder - Szenen*, Köln 1976. Wolfgang Roscher, ed. *Integrative Musikpädagogik I-II*, Wilhelmshaven 1983-84.

At first glance, the model seems to indicate that emphasis will be placed on the productive side, with the participants, i.e. the pupils, expressing themselves in a creative way, operationally and oriented towards action. The reception side seems to a larger extent to be presented in the model as the evaluation of experience during and after the production processes (Apperzeption, Reflexion, Kontemplation).

However, polyaesthetics can also be a receptive category which is activated when children and young people simultaneously read books, listen to music and watch television. It is not their aim to understand the polyaesthetics. They just create the polyaesthetics in their reception process.

"Like a prayer" by Madonna is a music video which provides a good introduction to working with polyaesthetics. On the basis of this video, 15-17 year-old pupils have discussed religious and cultural symbols, and gender symbols and myths.[1] With its many fragments and parallel stories, "Like a prayer" offers many entrances to the understanding of its construction.

Text

In theories of reception the starting point is the receiver. The music video as text is nothing until the receiver acts upon it. The focus is the meeting of the music video and the receiver; and this raises the question of whether the meeting should be understood as fiction or fact. The music video may itself signal that it is to be received as fiction. The artist's fame, the fact that the video is shown on MTV, the very genre of music video, invites it to be understood as fiction. The title can also signal its fictionality: cf. the word "Like" in "Like a prayer".

In "Like a prayer" the scene changes between a church and episodes with Ku-Klux-Klan members killing black people and rape committed in a street. A negro is Jesus with Madonna herself as Mary. There are many levels of staging and playing for the receiver to "read". BUT if the receiver understands the music video as fiction, she must also have competence in reading fiction in order to receive it as such. This competence can be developed in classroom discussions, with the example of the teacher's competence playing a role. With the music video as an example the pupils will have competence in one area and the teacher in another.

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[1] "Like a Prayer" is distributed on *Madonna.The Immaculate Collection*, (VHS), Warner Music Vision 1990.

Some of the pupils will encounter codes that they are already familiar with. But the good educational text naturally encourages growth and development. For Danish pupils the Madonna video is an encounter with both something familiar (Madonna) and something very exotic (Catholicism).

Empty places

Wolfang Iser, a German literary scholar who works in the field of reader response, is interested in the way the structures of the literary tekst influence the reader.[1] He is mainly known in Denmark for his theories regarding the reader's response to the empty places of the tekst. These empty places exist between pictures, in open endings and in techniques of montage. He makes use of them in his interpretations of literary teksts, but his mode of expressing them can be inspired by moving pictures. Many teachers and pupils find it fascinating to work with these empty places in music videos: viewers' project their own ideas into the empty places and thereby become co-producers. Thus the music video is a good educational text since it begins with recognition and moves towards new and surprising insights.

An example of a rock video which has many empty places is "Slave to the Rhythm".[2] It is used in the teaching of mother tongue in Denmark, and can be bought with a teacher's book which presents and discusses art, commercials, video entertainment and the staging of reality. "Slave to the Rhythm" is both title and song text. The first frame of the video is a photo of Grace Jones: fingers are seen cutting the photo apart, and one of the cuts creates an empty place between the upper and lower part of her mouth. There are moving pictures of beach and jungle populated with clowns and puppets. Grace Jones is seen as a naked hermaphrodite double. Interspersed with the moving pictures and the music there are commercials for Citroën, Kodak and Wrangler and maybe for something to drink and a stock cube. This video can be used as the basis for discussions about the staging of concepts of black and white, feminine and masculine, the cultural and the animal, and in this way pupils can find out about artistic creation and the aesthetics of the commercials.

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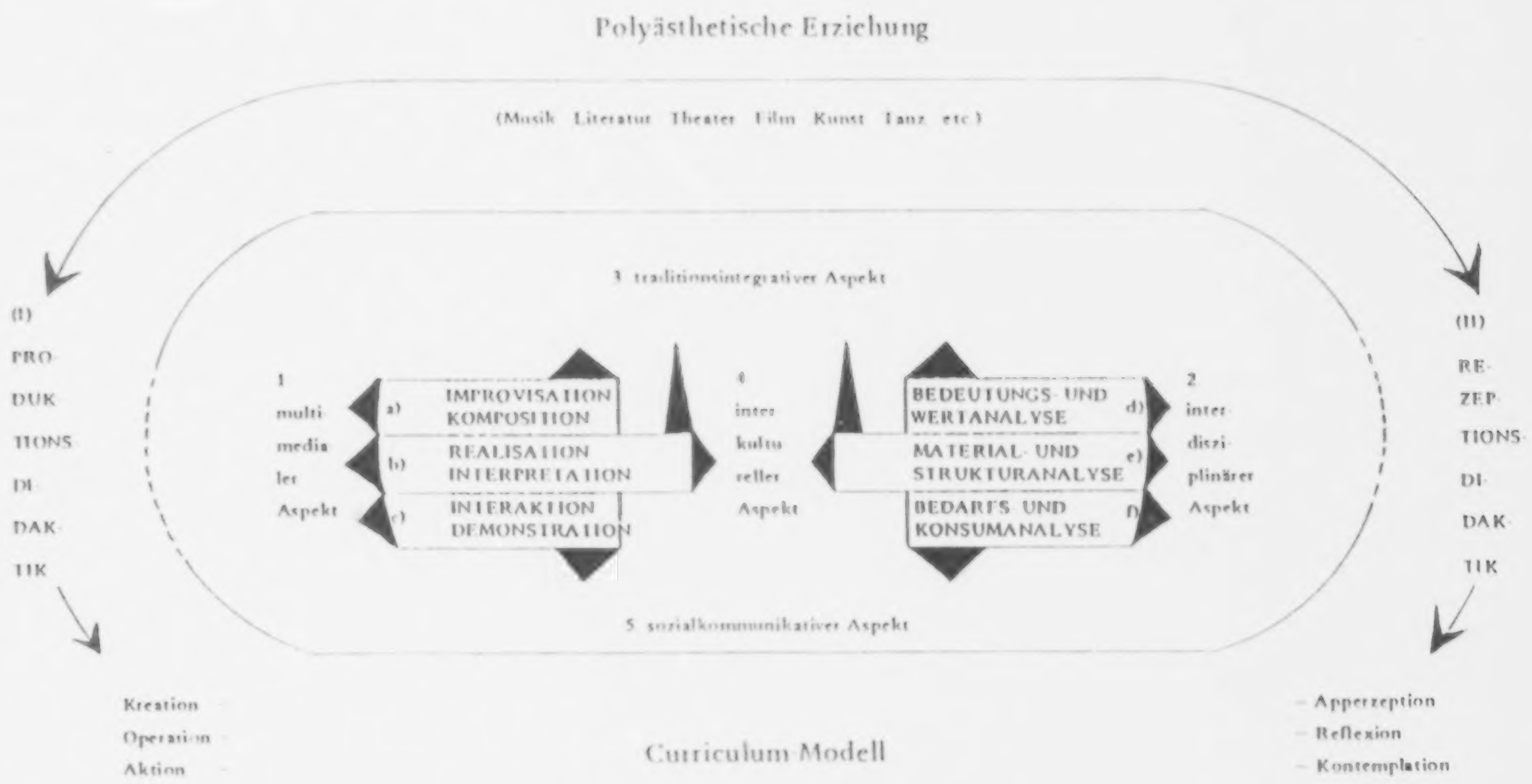
[1] Wolfgang Iser, op.cit.

[2] Grace Jones "Slave to the Rhythm" in *Rockreklamer*, Copenhagen.

An open conclusion

Briefly, these are the points which I would like to see pupils and teachers discussing:

* Are music videos good educational teksts and texts?
* Do adults and teachers prefer some music videos to others?
* Do pupils prefer some music videos to others?
* Who are to make the choice of this kind of material, pupils or teachers?
* In which ways can this kind of popular culture be made part of an education for a changing society?
* Are such educational texts invasions of the leisure and cultures of young people?
* Can this be regarded as a way of acknowledging both the competence of the young and the norms and ideals of the democratic school?


Polyästhetische Erziehung
(Musik Literatur Theater Film Kunst Tanz etc.)
(I) PRODUKTIONSDIDAKTIK
Kreation
Operation
Aktion
(II) REZEPTIONSDIDAKTIK
– Apperzeption
– Reflexion
– Kontemplation
3 traditionsintegrativer Aspekt
5 sozialkommunikativer Aspekt
1 multimedialer Aspekt
4 interkultureller Aspekt
2 interdisziplinärer Aspekt
a) IMPROVISATION KOMPOSITION
b) REALISATION INTERPRETATION
c) INTERAKTION DEMONSTRATION
d) BEDEUTUNGS- UND WERTANALYSE
e) MATERIAL- UND STRUKTURANALYSE
f) BEDARFS- UND KONSUMANALYSE

Curriculum Modell

der Integrativen Musikpädagogik

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Chapter III

Curriculum

Democratisation, Citizenship and Action Competence

Karsten Schnack

Democratisation is to share power. And this implies a kind of respect for others. You have to look at people as persons and listen to their statements and arguments with the same seriousness regardless of their birth and rank. One person's feelings or opinions are, a priori, not more important than another person's. So, in principle democracy is based on common sense.

This, on the other hand, does not mean that common sense is always right or should not be questioned. On the contrary, democracy depends on enlightenment and critique. Therefore, democratisation and education are very closely connected.

Seen in this perspective general education aims at qualifying common sense. And this is not meant in the sense of the economy of education where you analyse the needs for qualification in relation to the changing business conditions in society. This may be important too, but in perspective of a critical pedagogy it is only conditions.

Here the point is to look for qualifications in general political education. The question of course is not how to train politicians, but rather, which qualifications of common sense are relevant for being a political person within a democracy.

In ancient Greece the opposite of a political person was called *idiotos*, often translated as 'a private man', a man not involving himself in the community. Of course a democratic society consisting of men like this is a contradiction in terms. So you might say that the fundamental challenge to the school is not to make the pupils clever but to educate them so that they do not become 'idiots'. These two aims are not the same.

· Education, or political education if you wish, cannot be reduced to schooling. Therefore, it is very difficult to develop and establish a relevant curriculum for general education in the perspective of democratisation. Nevertheless we nowadays witness an increasing, although often half-hearted and inconsistent interest in placing these matters in the core curriculum of the compulsory school.

Looking out of the school world at the society in which the school functions we will find a cluster of changes and tendencies which are of importance for the understanding of the curriculum debates.

To mention but three of these tendencies, I will firstly point to the fact that the societies at the same time, and in the same process so to speak, tend to split up into smaller nationalities *and* come together in larger supra-national unions and co-operations. We see a wave of strong nationalism together with an immediate demand for internationalisation, both culturally and in relation to the market.

Secondly, many western societies are becoming more multicultural. Immigration has become a cultural, ideological, and political challenge. And in the light of the ever-increasing gap between rich and poor people it is hard to believe in the possibility of stopping this immigration tendency.

Thirdly, you often ascertain a decreasing interest in the populations for traditional political activity. The political parties often report fewer members. When something is put to vote the poll is not always that heavy. Many youth groups seem to be either politically apathetic or engaged merely in extra-parlamentary activities. And so forth.

Such tendencies are the background for understanding much of the ambivalent interest in educating for citizenship and similar curricular developments. And from the point of view of critical pedagogy, you have to be ambivalent too. Democracy is Utopia, not a state. It is an ideal you have to fight for and try to move towards in spite of the many obstacles. Therefore, democratisation is often a more precise expression of the educational aim than democracy itself.

Some aspects of the named tendencies are really threatening democracy. But sometimes the cures for them seem to be dangerous too. The centre of this problem is the phenomenon of socialisation. Every act of education is a kind of socialisation, and it is important to some degree for everyone to be adapted to the social and cultural surroundings. This is not only a prerequisite of feeling comfortable but also a condition for the confidence and courage necessary for engaging oneself in the community. Education, on the other hand, is not only adaptation or adjustment but also emancipation and autonomy. This cocktail has never been easy to shake. As a rule of thumb, however, it is usually safe to expect that there is strong power behind adding the adjustment liquids.

Rob Gilbert (1994) distinguishes between two major strands in the concept of citizenship, liberal individualism and more communitarian approaches. In relation to the question of the curriculum for liberal education in a democratic perspective this distinction is of course of the greatest relevance. It relates to different notions of democracy.

It may, however, be of interest that although we understand this point fairly well in the Nordic tradition, we do not have a usable word for citizenship in the Danish language. This is perhaps one of the reasons why we do not have syllabuses and guidelines for teaching citizenship in the Danish compulsory school's curriculum.

In the overall aim of the school, as well as in the aims of more of the subjects, you nevertheless find expressions which are very close to education for citizenship. But the Danish parallel for the word 'citizenship' is not used, as it would sound too old-fashioned and give associations to the bourgeois culture and lifestyle. This, on the other hand, is not a mere coincidence as the modern democratic ideas became established together with the revolution of the commoners and middle-class. The ideals of the Enlightenment still form the most fundamental basis for the notion of liberal education, and the democratic idea of debating political issues in public was literally developed in connection with the bourgeois lifestyle.

The school-law of 1993 has given us a new subject for ninth class; civics. This is a subject parallel to e.g. physics, biology, and geography; i.e. that you have to learn about society. But the aim of the subject has been formulated in such a way that the tuition should give the pupils ability and desire to involve themselves in democratic activities. Every pupil has to develop responsibility for the solution of common problems and tasks in the society.

So to use a common distinction the aim is not only education *about* the democratic society but also education *for* the democratic society. It is, however, too early to say anything about how this new subject will find its own identity within the framework of the school.

I have been informed that the inspectors in the English school were told not to concentrate too much on the five cross-curricular themes in the National Curriculum, e.g. health education, environmental education and education for citizenship. I expect that the reason is twofold, partly related to the personal and moral dimensions of the themes and partly to their being cross-curricular.

In relation to health education, environmental education and peace education it has been more common in recent years to make distinctions between education about, in or through, and for e.g. the environment. In some cases these categories are useful and clarifying. The background seems to be that it has become more and more evident that new knowledge does not automatically lead to new behaviour.

If you find it desirable or necessary to change the behaviour and the attitudes of people, it is not normally enough to merely teach them about some facts. Normally it gives a better effect if you are able to give the pupils personal experiences with the issues in question, if you teach in or through the environment or the democratic society. This is not easy to organise, but in a critical pedagogy it is most often seen as a necessity. And I agree on this point, even if it is often only used as a motivation factor.

If the aim is to give the pupils the opportunity to gain experiences through analysing problems in the real world and more or less involving themselves in the conflicts, then good conditions exist for valuable learning processes. On the other hand, it is hard to state the objectives of the lessons and to assess the results. In other words it is difficult to plan and manage the learning. But these are the circumstances for an education that is not reduced to training.

Even if you do not want to control the educational machinery, in a critical pedagogy you might want to maintain or enforce your aims a little more strictly. Or to explain it in another way, the pupils are subject to so many pressures and socialisation agents within the society and in their conditions of life that have a problematic influence on them in relation to health, environment, peace and citizenship. Therefore, it is necessary to establish an education *for* health, environment, peace and citizenship. That is, an education that aims promoting a willingness to engage in the community and to motivate the pupils to adopt adequate values and lifestyles.

"Education *for* the environment may be located within the socially-critical traditions in education because of its concern for social critique and reconstruction", John Fien writes (Fien 1994, p.21). This implies, however, that this education for the environment builds on education *in* and *about* the environment to help the pupils to be informed actors.

In practice we find a lot of instruction programmes and campaigns which aim at changing the behaviour of the pupils or students. They are all working *for* making the world better, and in many cases it is urgent. But the educational dilemmas crop up here too. It is not enough that the content of the instruction is socially-critical if the pupils are not becoming critical thinkers themselves.

There is a danger built into the terminology of "about, through, and for". Being tired of all the teaching *about* not leading to action, many progressive educators have shifted the perspective and are trying to influence and change feelings, norms and behaviour directly. So education *for* has got a positive value; it sounds more critical. But if the programmes are reduced to means to modify the behaviour of other people, then it is not education at all.

As a critical corrective to this tendency we[1] have for some years now worked with the concept "action competence". It is a concept with great resemblance to the German "political education" and the English "empowerment".

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[1] Especially in the Research Centre of Environmental and Health Education, see Jensen and Schnack 1994.

The problem with the term "political education" is that it is very often mistaken for instruction in specific political ideas, eventually indoctrination in the beliefs of a particular political party. The educational idea, however, is quite the opposite, namely to stimulate the development of the capacity to critically understand, reflection and personal engagement in relation to interests in the society. Political education is an ideal to learn to think politically. So it is not brain-washing; rather the most important defence against indoctrination.

The problem with the term "empowerment" is first of all that it cannot be translated into Danish. We do not have a word like this in the Danish or Nordic language. Another problem is that it seems to be a little over-used. Several English speaking colleagues avoid using it for this reason, and perhaps because it has been criticised for connoting too much of a paternal relation between a donor and a receiver.

Used as a corrective to the tendency to reduce e.g. health education to more or less moralising campaigns about lifestyles, the term "empowerment", on the other hand, still does its work as a critical concept (Tones 1994). Trying to influence the individual behaviour is not enough, no more than imparting knowledge of health issues. Empowerment includes self-esteem and relative control. People have to develop the capability of influencing their own life and the conditions for it, alone and together with others.

In much the same way, the notion of "action competence" is a corrective to the inclination of reducing the educational complexity. The concept itself, of course, does not solve any educational problems. On the contrary, the point is to insist on the very diverse and difficult perspective of education and democracy. So, in a way the concept is better at provoking questions than answering them.

Democratisation implies constant attacks on the propensity to conform to the existing world without critical reflection. Education indicates never to take the given as beyond dispute. And critical pedagogy involves alternative information, resistance, and counter-qualification. Never-theless, it is important not to misuse the school-children.

It is not, and cannot be, the task of the school to solve the political problems of society. It is not the task to improve the world with the help of the pupils' activities. These must be assessed on the basis of their formative value and thus according to educational criteria. A school, regarded as a school, does for example not become 'green' by conserving energy, collecting batteries or sorting waste. The crucial factor must be what the pupils learn from participating in such activities - or from deciding something else.

The curriculum must contain experiences with taking action and involving oneself together with others. This implies that the pupils (and the teachers) are engaged and committed in all the phases of action taking, that is the analysis of the situation, the planning, the activities, and the assessment.

One of the more important challenges in critical pedagogy today is to work with the relations between health education, environmental education, peace education, international education, education for citizenship, and democratisation. Mostly, they have been treated as separate issues, even if, in important respects, they are very closely connected. Not only do they share many common features they are in essence better understood as conditions of each other or as dimensions of the same educational project.

In all cases it is essential to understand the conflicting interests involved. It is, in addition, cardinal not to reduce all the value and attitude related problems to questions about technique. And it is important to see the connections between the social and the personal levels, going against the trend to individualise the problems or to end up in apathy.

In a relevant curriculum for (political) education and democratisation,
- environmental problems are not seen as problems in the nature but as social problems which originate in clashes of interests,
- sustainable development is not treated as a neutral, technical notion but as value-loaded and controversial. It is impossible to determine the human needs without an historical dimension and a democratic discussion about true and false needs,
- health education is not only about life-style, but about living conditions as well,

- peace is not reduced to the absence of warfare,
- citizenship is not only to know something about the constitution and to vote once in a while at the elections,
- global problems are local too, and
- internationalisation is about solidarity and not exclusively a question of competition.

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Innovation in Schools and Democratic Action Competence

Ole B. Larsen

This paper discusses some of the recent tendencies in research and development of European school systems. The paper considers the impact these tendencies may have upon the potentials teachers and pupils have for the acquisition of democratic action competencies.

The two research- and developmental paradigms of *school effectiveness* and *school quality* will be reviewed - and particular attention is given to the implications these frameworks have for educational practice. Drawing upon the power of the *school democratisation perspective*, questions are raised about how educational development based upon a strategy of school effectiveness can operate within a synergetic relationship to those strategies aimed at extending the quality of schooling as a versatile and multifaceted item.

A central assertion in the paper is that pedagogical development, staff development and the access pupils have to participation in the processes of schooling have to be rather closely interrelated, at the level of school praxis, if a school culture is to provide the time, the space and the opportunity for the development of democratic and personal action potentials - be it for pupils, teachers or anyone else involved in the educational enterprise.

Not infrequently, the development of such action potentials is evidenced in reality in many different kinds of 'solutions_. These solutions often take the form of action schemes which are contingent upon the commonality of that frame of reference which is shared by the staff of a particular school or upon the comprehensiveness of the concept of school culture which is actually used by those who work or learn in the school.

Recent Debates about European School Systems

In European countries, it is noticeable that some of the discussions about public educational systems give the impression of representing certain, discernable trends. For over ten years, the school, like several other institutions in Western societies, has been told by those with political power or authority to meet new expectations, and its structure and organisation have both seen great changes. In this respect - that is, in terms of the link between the State and social institutions of the State like the school - it is appropriate to speak about a gradual but very real transition from the Welfare State to the Responsive State. This transition is analyzed elsewhere in this collection.

In this analytical framework, it is quite clear that certain basic ideas about European societies and their institutions are becoming very closely linked to economistic concepts of efficiency and quality. Many models for institutional change are inspired or have been directly taken-over from organisational developments in private enterprise; they have their outset from theories and methods tried-out and refined within the private productive and business sectors, where citizens are understood as consumers or customers, and where success or failure of the enterprise are to be read through output and cost-benefit analysis. The problems with using these analogies in educational analyses is to do with questions like whether or not a citizen is more than a consumer, and whether the relation between a teacher and a school child is more complicated than that which exists between an employee and his/her material.

Public educational and health systems are not easy to parallel with well-run firms. Everyone will find such a statement banal or obvious, but without question we find ourselves today in a period where there is an absolutely vital need for discussion about the very real differences between public and private service, about the differences between societal institutions and private firms. This paper will concentrate upon what *might be* the relation between efficiency and quality in education - as seen through a democratisation perspective.

How far is it feasible to rely on an economistic rationality, when visions and strategies which refer to an educational system are to be formulated and expressed? Clearly, questions about democratisation in society and in social institutions are not only issues about shaping a well-qualified elite nor are they merely about how to raise educational qualifications and standards within the whole population - however laudable these goals might be. They also give centrality to issues about power-sharing and about overcoming alienation, about repression and social deprivation of living conditions and about differences in access to influence. Seen from this perspective, then, education might be a more comprehensive tool for *diminishing* those factors which block aspirations for raising the quality of life.

School Effectiveness

For more than a decade, a great deal of educational and/or economistic research in Europe has been primarily derived from an American context. The aim of this American approach, which came to the fore during the re-emergence of the New Right in the USA in the 1980s, has been to identify and to highlight those factors which might enhance school effectiveness. In this research, effectiveness is frequently measured by collating students' qualifications (or marks) in the essentialist subject-based curriculum (i.e., in core skill areas like reading or mathematics). One of the best-known British studies by Peter Mortimore et al, in 1988, identifies the following critical *characteristics* of effective primary schools:

1. Purposeful leadership in the headteachers' management of the staff:
   - understanding the needs of the school,
   - involved leader's behaviour, yet *attentive to sharing power with staff,*
   - *consulting rather than totally controlling** staff, especially in decision-making about spending plans and curriculum guidelines.

2. Involvement of the deputy head in policy-making.

3. *Involvement of teachers in:*
   - *curriculum planning,*
   - *developing their own guidelines,*
   - *which classes they should teach,*
   - *and in spending*.*

4. Consistency between teachers:
   - continuity of staffing
   - consistency in teaching approaches.

5. A structured day, whereby,
   - pupils' work is organised by the teacher,
   - the day plan involves securing that there is plenty for pupils to do, whilst - ensuring pupils *some freedom within the structure*,*
   - not relatively unlimited responsibility for a long list of tasks.

6. Intellectually challenging teaching:
   - stimulating and enthusiastic teachers,
   - incidence of 'higher order' questions and statements, and so ~
   - greater possibilities for children to use their own problem-solving powers.

7. A work-centred environment:
   - high level pupil industry,
   - low noise level,
   - pupils' movements work-related.

8. A limited focus within sessions:
   - teachers devoting their energies to one, or sometimes two, particular subjects.

9. Maximum communication between teachers and pupils, meaning,
   - not only contacts with respect to individual children
   - a focus upon the benefits of *common* experience by instruction or stories.

10. Thorough record keeping:
    - monitoring pupils progress important.

11. Parental involvement:
    - Open Door policy pursued whereby parents support and aid the work of school.

12. A positive climate.

*(my emphases)

Discussion

From a perspective of democratisation, the above check-list of requirements or conditions for improving the effectiveness of schools is quite remarkable. The points marked by my italics especially, accentuate an ethos of dialogue and of co-participation in the management and in the instructional style of school. One is entitled to ask the question of how far it is possible to combine this approach with the majority of the other items in the list, which bear an imprint of technocratic effectiveness: clear, co-ordinated, goal-directed and focused upon productivity-centred procedures. These two competing, though not antagonistic interests, have to be kept in balance if school culture is to be cultivated in such a way that enables teachers and pupils to nurture a meaningful enterprise of *sharing,* rather than to interact as trainers and trainees. But the more control devices one adds to the practice of a school to secure effective learning, complying with the economistic logic, the less actors actually need to take over responsibility for their own learning and teaching.

A more problematic aspect of the list is what is *not* included. For some years now, teachers in many different schools have worked together with pupils to release cross-disciplinary learning experiences, centred upon ecological, health-related or other urgent social problematics. It is well-known that such workings are capable of giving pupils rather more opportunities for the acquisition of uniquely versatile insights and proficiencies than those which are focused upon single subject study. And yet, remarkably, these cross-curricular and socially vexatious thematics are not mentioned as useful learning experiences in the very notions the more economistic researchers advocate for improved efficiency. Whilst it is probably useful to suggest that the focus in single lessons or learning episodes lectures should indeed be narrow and apparently subject-centred, such a focus should also be of the highest possible theoretical and intellectual standard - in terms of both potential and actual achievement. Too often, in practice, narrow or subject-bound learning experiences keep both pupils and some of the teachers at a too comfortable distance away from reflecting upon the curricular question of "why" and, instead, directs their attention towards "what" and "how" questions of learning and of syllabus rationale. In effect, such procedures have the unintended outcome of draining an important potential for pupils' democratic education from the school culture.

Research on school effectiveness, then, frequently fails to give sufficient emphasis upon those learning experiences which can shape action competence for democratic citizenship and, instead, tends to take as a starting-point the implicit assumption that insights, knowledge and skills of a supposedly high standard shape the autonomous, educated man.

Implications of effectiveness research

Two resumes of research into school *'quality'* in 1994 - one from the UK and the other from the Netherlands - have both suggested that there are good grounds for attempting fundamental revisions of the research methods used in school effectiveness investigations and for this kind of educational analysis to become more inclusive and broad-based in the concepts it deploys and in the data-collection techniques used. The researchers' arguments for this kind of self criticism is that most of the previous results from empirical studies have been more unreliable than expected. So, for the time-being, it is probably wise to be very careful about trying to stipulate the pedagogical implications of existing studies.

Another question of more importance is - and this is my fear - that politicians and school authorities in Europe have taken-for-granted the finitial experiences and results of this type of research and that they will take them to their logical conclusion in the formation of education policy and legislation. Viewed from the perspective of socialisation-for-democratic-citizenship, such a tendency will almost certainly counteract the willingness by educational authorities to loosen centralised types of control of individual schools, limiting the relative freedom for teachers and pupils to find space for the extension of 'shared' decision making. The rationality of this approach can delay the practical achievement of school democratisation by locking school leaders and teachers into a fixation with easily measurable outcomes.

The democratisation of school culture and of teaching-learning processes is not only an issue about teachers' attitudes to change and development. Some continuing reforms in the educational public service systems in Western Europe illuminate a schism over just how far the inspiration and directional energy of concepts which originated inside private enterprise systems and free market analyses can provide benefit for future developments in schooling. Any heavy pressures upon any particular school to concentrate upon the teaching-learning of traditional, basic, cultural qualifications can diminish vital school-based responsibilities towards choice of content. They can also delay those local pedagogic innovations which are based upon broader conceptions of culture - albeit that such local orientations are quite necessary preconditions for differentiated learning and for progressively extending students' co-influence upon their own development. No one school can ever resist demands for effectiveness. It does need to live up to certain standards of cultural transformation, basic competencies, extern ally defined and demanded. The critical question is, therefore, whether or not reaching towards these goals will lead a school to lose its direction, to get confused in the search for further cultural *production* among teachers and pupils, to lose the capacity for shaping a pedagogical space for democratic learning experiences.

Quality and school culture

In Germany, the discussion about Quality of Schooling has taken a slightly different direction from that followed in the American inspired research on School Effectiveness. Studies of Quality in School are not designed as large-scale empirical studies, in which the concentration is upon measures of students' academic test results. In contrast, the school, "good" or "bad", is considered as a sub-culture, in which development, social interchange and the possible consequences for the participants is always perceived as a complicated task - complicated both for analysis and as a practical social accomplishment. The German studies have included qualitative data about experience and judgements - primarily from leaders and teachers, but also, to some extent, about the pupils' and the parents' perspectives.

Steffens (1993), in a resume of 10 years of German study and discussions on the organisational development of the school, has set up some points [see below] which indicate critical marks of a school which is ready to develop the quality of *its own culture*. It illuminates a participatory approach, considering the teachers as the cornerstone of pedagogical development and places, therefore, a heavy weight upon the staff's conditions of work, their professional attitudes and upon their shared, or what we might call their mutual reasoning. Seen through a perspective of child socialisation theory - a view of school life as preparation for later democratic citizenship - the points are interesting. They direct attention straight to a good many of the conditions as deemed prerequisites for democratic socialisation: co-influence, participation and mutual reasoning - conditions which facilitate both personal involvement and democratic cultural formation and which give, thereby, the real basis for concrete democratic dialogues.

[My high-lights below mark those points which could also refer to relationships between teachers and pupils, even though the focus in this list is clearly on staff relations.]

* Knowledge of the possibilities for school development.

* Willingness to attempt development (which is not obvious, if stress or burn-out tendencies are present).

* Clear ideas of what has to be reached. (which is usually reckoned to be the greatest problem in schools)

* *Attitudes to pedagogical values and standards which reflect positive beliefs about children's capabilities/capacities of learning*

* Professional methods and procedures in the collegial relations of staff.

* *A well-protected participatory culture herein securing "minimal consensus".*

* *Planning of actions and interventions that have consequences at the collegialas well as at the teaching-learning level.*

* *A realisation that team work and negotiation take time and run the risk of being too ritualised.*

* Being economical with just how much individual time and effort is given over to innovation activities.

* *A concentration upon essential problems of the school and upon always making sure that negotiated agreements, goals and platforms for critical reflection upon the process of development are clear and secure.*

Discussion

School Quality and School Culture

On the one hand, it is a general experience that schools differ from each other in values and norms, in rituals and routines, and in everyday practical activities and habits. Every school, therefore, can be considered as a unique carrier and developer of its own culture. This culture, which is only partly formed by the inspirations or pressures from outside, is, in fact, based upon the school's very own myths and self-understandings.

At the same time, we are also accustomed to considering the school as a main apparatus for the socialisation and the qualification of youth through teaching and, as such, we are accustomed to accepting that schools have a decisive impact on the future prospects of citizens' life conditions.

So, if we want to enhance the democratic action potential of our children and young people *as future citizens*, no doubt we can benefit from developing a culture amongst staff members, which can serve as a platform for establishing democratic values, norms and routines. The rationale for this approach is to secure that teachers' appeal to children's co-influence, participation and responsibility in school work, reflecting the existential conditions available or created by any one member of the school staff. If this is not the case, then requests and requirements for school children to be encouraged either to exhibit or to enjoy democratic behaviour very easily get moralistic.

In the German studies, the school is conceived as a plastic social entity, whose culture can be established or changed, and whose cultural expressions are to be understood as common solutions to the problems of the institution. In other words, quality of a school's culture is contingent with how the teachers experience and act upon the following necessary but essentially plastic conditions:

* - their work conditions and shared complex of problems,

* - the pedagogical demands and personal engagement of the staff,

* - their ambitions and qualifications,

* - the power structure and decision-making processes of the staff, and,

* - how committed the staff feel to shared agreements.

This conception of Quality in School places great emphasis upon the teachers' 'collegium' as a sub-culture, a sub-culture whose values, norms, routines and access to influence and resources is the basis for school development as well as for stagnation. Quality in school is contingent upon quality in the professional staff culture.

Even though many of the items mentioned above might be understood as diagnostic tools for inserting change-agents into staff development, we might also choose to read some of the problems which lurk inbetween the lines of the list. (This is not to deny that many of the points are clearly basic requisites for progressive school development projects, projects through which a school staff would try to turn the general development of the school into a more specifically democratic, participatory plan.)

One argument for this focus will be that teachers' personal experience as staff members could be one of the most basic essential preconditions for the formulation of fresh conceptions of their work, and furthermore, it could also be suggested that a teaching staffs' personal and collective confidence with respect to own professional fantasies and imagination will only play an influential role when the teachers themselves look forward to engaging with the children's ideas, their suggestions and their reactions to the teaching-learning process.

All this indicates a certain degree of parallelism between democratic action competence mirrored among adult professionals, and the ethos which possession of this competence carries-over into those moments when teachers are reflecting upon or intervening in children's working conditions and learning experiences in school. If we summarise briefly the crucial items of Quality in School research in Germany, they highlight certain analytical categories which the researchers involved try to validate through their analysis of practice:

1. **Person aspect**
   Teachers' individual attitudes, values and qualifications (Responsibility/consciousness and pedagogical engagement)

2. **Content aspects**
   Initiatives to making school life more meaningful and stimulating (- especially topics on a meta-level to ordinary subjects)

3. **Interactional aspects**
   To work with a school development concept demands institutionalised work relations and internal organisational structures which allow one to secure effective professional negotiation and problem solving. (student's participation and co-influence)

4. **Relational aspects**
   "Good" schools only grow out of satisfying exchange between persons. Neglect, anonymity, harsh competitiveness and stress orientation are all counter-productive. (Humane gathering and conscious care for a participatory companionship is hunted)

5. **Relative autonomy**.
   (The 'authorities' achieve some kind of balance between control and support)

Toward a Conclusion

Cultural transmission in school - if effective - will supply individual pupils with a fund of knowledge and skills from the 'already-given' cultural heritage and, to a certain degree, it will give future citizens access and insight into society - a knowledge necessary for growing membership and for chances of mobility and belonging. This task of the school, of course, will hardly ever be *explicitly* neglected. But the problem is that children, citizens in the making, who are brought-up in schools which are characterised by *maximum effectiveness* accompanied by *minimum democratisation potential*, i.e., through pure, 'good' schools but with meagre opportunities for negotiation, for participation and for co-influence, are more than likely to emerge later in life as citizens who are well-informed but *indifferent* individuals, and from this position it is only a small step to the development of informed but *sceptical* cynicism.

Participation in *cultural production* in school calls for achievement of critical and inventive qualifications as the pupils (and teachers) assume and apply an ever-growing talent for raising bright questions and for fulfilling their own initiatives in a recurrent search for answers - not only just answers to clear-cut questions read in work sheets. Cultural production is, by definition, open-ended, not always effective and not even successful, but always enacted as try-outs of reality. It calls for the nurturing of work conditions and a learning climate which are both accepting and tolerant to individual differences and which are based upon a confidence in the collective benefits of individual meaning, personal significance and the courage to defend and to dare to make personal expression. It demands of the school culture a persistence in ethics, in the beliefs of the children's and young people's growing capacities for participatory responsibility.

These aspects of a school are very difficult to examine by grades, marks or other so-called 'efficiency' indicators, but it is not impossible for the involved actors to evaluate, to discuss and to work towards them. The purpose of school development in a democratic perspective is to install and to revise a double strategy which balances the aims and goals of *cultural transmission* with the often competing aims and goals of *cultural production.* Democratic action competence is to be found not only in the learning results measured through the school syllabus, but also in the quality of daily-life dialogues, in the ethos of social relations and in the transparency of the work processes of the school. The benefits of this kind of socialisation may be a relative autonomy and a thrust towards meaningful participation. And the search for optimum *quality and effectiveness* into *both* aspects of education calls for recurrent didactic analysis and evaluation, analysis which is preferably done as a shared enterprise between participants, pupils and teachers, and is only secondarily supported by external authorities or examiners.

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Citizen entitlement and everyday experience: an approach to education for citizenship, democracy, and global concern

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The conference on Democracy in Schools, Citizenship and Global Concern connects three important aspects of education for the contemporary world. The democratic emphasis is a central concern of national governments in both old and new democracies, and, as this paper will argue, is dramatically affected by processes of globalisation which challenge traditional political relationships. For this reason, democracy in schools and global concern are closely related, and educational programs which address these two issues need to see the connections between them.

This paper addresses this connection by focusing on the third aspect, that of citizenship, and the educational questions which the concept of citizenship has generated. The first section of the paper considers the processes of globalisation and their significance for education for citizenship. The discussion then evaluates approaches to education based on two major concepts of citizenship, liberal individualism and civic republicanism, and considers their adequacy as concepts on which education for democracy and global concern can be based. These approaches are found to ignore important matters which are necessary for successful education for citizenship, especially the question of how students are to be motivated to the ideas and practice of citizenship. Finally, the paper proposes an approach to education for citizenship based on the entitlements of citizens relevant to their everyday experiences, and argues that such an approach has considerable potential.

A changing global context: postindustrialism, global culture and environmental risk

The connections among democracy, citizenship and global concern need to be studied in terms of the changing world context, much of which has been discussed through the concept of postmodernity. Postmodernity is difficult to define, but any attempt to characterise contemporary society and culture must acknowledge the speed of change in traditional patterns of social and cultural formations and their significance for politics and citizenship. The information age and its superhighway, changes in the production and dissemination of knowledge, and changing political cultures are important aspects of these changes. (Gilbert, 1992) In economic terms, globalisation, deregulation, privatisation and post-Fordist production interfere with the contractual relations of state and corporation which have underpinned the economic significance of nationhood. The consequences for employment, regional economies and labour/-management relations are in the direction of less stability over time, greater movement over space, and a general threatening of the old certainties of the economic system. The precariousness of the cults of the market and individual enterprise can be seen as a threat to any historic compromise or social contract between citizens and the economy.

The postmodern economy has fragmented the experience of production, and at the same time heightened the significance of consumption. While politics has in the past relied on a formal public rationality, 'the new consumerism on the other hand is all about floating visual images, pleasures and impossible dreams' (Mort, 1989, p. 169) - emphasising a private sphere in which people find solace and satisfaction in getting and spending. Citizenship as entitlement becomes central to this issue, since in the consumer society where even basic services are being privatised and 'user pays' principles applied, rights to levels of welfare entitlement in a market context take on new and important meanings. This also heightens the importance of social and economic rights. Where previously civil and political rights have dominated rights debates, social welfare rights take centre stage, and principles of equality which drive civil and political citizenship raise challenging questions when applied to the economic sphere.

Related to these changes is the growth of the information society. The information revolution is among the most pervasive forms of social change experienced by the present generation. In the advanced capitalist economies, information workers (including computer manufacturing, telecommunications, mass media, advertising, publishing, accounting) comprise more than half the workforce. Central among these is the growth of the culture industries, especially in the English speaking world, where the international market for film, television, music, sport, and the promotional trappings that go with them, are leading to a standardisation of the everyday cultural experiences of millions across the globe. The implications of these developments for identity and attachments to the nation can only be speculated about, but they cannot be passed off as insignificant.

Further, the growth of consumption as central to people's experience of the economic, and of the mass media and informationalism as the dominant mode of the cultural, are increasingly closely related:

> *From spiralling prices on the international art market to the legitimation of consumer culture even in the Eastern bloc and the role of PR and image in hyping everything from global brands to green issues and government policies, all the evidence points to the collapse of any firm line between 'culture' and 'commerce'.* (Hebdige, 1990, p. 19)

Some commentators see these developments as major threats to democracy itself. For instance, Wexler argues that in such a situation, individual identity is decentred, diffused and fragmented. Since societies are equally fragmented, the base for the individual-society contractual relation (on which both liberal individualism and communitarianism rely, albeit in different ways), no longer exists. The capacity of the individual mind to locate itself in history is lost, replaced by the mass media and its images, especially television, which now constructs the network for social relations, but in a form much less stable than before.

Telepolitics and network news, mass audience soaps, consumerism, the production of demand through the manipulation and consumption of images, increasingly fragmented occupational structures and work patterns - these are conspicuous features of the information and consumer societies. Wexler takes up the implications of this 'semiotic society' for individual identity, since 'identity dynamics, like knowledge, are different in the semiotic society', and if citizenship is to survive as a meaningful term, 'it will have to be recreated within this new social, class, and psychological reality'. (p. 171) Wexler is pessimistic about how this trend can be reversed, what possible alternatives can arrest the power of the semiotic society.

Further evidence of cultural globalisation is the increased migration of the late twentieth century, and other movements of people as refugees, migrant workers and the representatives of international government and corporations. The democratic rights of such minorities groups and individuals are important issues at the turn of the century, and are clearly a matter of global concern where the concept of citizenship is a crucial factor.

Political globalisation is evident in the growing importance of political blocs such as the European Union and others, where what were once trade alignments are being broadened into cultural and political responsibilities. International organisations like the United Nations are also taking more active roles with respect to national governments, not least through the range of important treaties and agreements based on the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Membership of these global political entities places the notion of national citizenship in a new light, sometimes challenging the authority of national government, at other times providing national governments with powers and arguments on which their own internal decisions can be argued and implemented.

Finally, economic and cultural change are accompanied by environmental changes, a range of consequent hazards, and a social framework built on the need to contain risks. The significance of this 'risk society' is, according to Beck (1992), that the hazards and risks know no national boundaries, and that their effects are not distributed on class lines. Nuclear, chemical and genetic technology developed on a global scale in supranational corporations is not controllable in traditional national terms. It also produces dissensus on the value of progress. However, citizen concern is stimulated by media reports of international disasters like Chernobyl, threats to the ecosphere from depleted ozone and the greenhouse effect, and images of 'skeletal trees or dying seals'. (Beck, 1992, p. 119)

An important outcome of these concerns is the flourishing environmental movements, and organisations like Greenpeace and green political parties parallel the movements of identity politics. Lash and Urry (1994, p. 297) argue that environmental concern has led people increasingly to view humans as part of nature, and become less committed to conquering or dominating it. People are thought to have special responsibilities *for* nature, partly because of their unprecedented powers of global destruction. They also have such responsibility because of the particular human capacity to act reflexively, to project environmental degradation, and see the need for behavioural change.

Further, environmental concern leads to a view of nature as global or holistic, a perception promoted by the media which have generated an imagined community of all societies inhabiting one earth. Finally, the notion of the rights of future generations to a sustainable future and a life in a quality environment is an important addition to the rights debate.

The significance of environmentalism is that environmental concerns, movements and politics raise new considerations for citizenship. They give material substance to the notion of global citizenship, offer important forms of political expression, introduce new concepts of rights, and, as illustrated by the Brundtland Report's title *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), are the basis of shared values and experiences in the material contexts of daily life. As a result, environmentalism raises the prospect of a citizenship firmly based in experience, and one which is more communal than individualism, and more material than communitarianism. The potential for motivation in environmental citizenship is therefore very strong.

The significance of these processes of globalisation is still being established, but there is no doubt that they raise important questions about democracy, citizenship and global concern. In the present context their most important implication is for the role of the nation state as the essential base on which citizenship and democracy are founded. Globalisation, and its associated processes of localisation, are in many respects reducing the power and importance of national governments. The legitimacy of national governments is put in question when their decisions can be challenged in international forums, and their authority over their citizens is similarly weakened. This, along with the significance of immigrant minorities in much of the world, must raise questions about the nation as a source of identity and a base for community.

It may be because of these challenges to the nation state that education for citizenship has become a key concern for educational policy and debate in the advanced economies of the English speaking world, where education systems and agencies have produced reports, curriculum guidelines, and school programs in surprising number. From the United Kingdom come parliamentary inquiries and national curriculum statements (Commission on Citizenship, 1990, National Curriculum Council, 1990); in the United States agencies are producing guidelines and statements of national standards for education for citizenship (Bahmueller, 1991; Center for Civic Education, 1994); and in Australia, the source of this chapter, the national parliament has conducted two important inquiries and is presently engaged in a third (Senate Standing Committee, 1988, 1991).

These developments signal both the importance of the idea of citizenship in the education pantheon, but also the significance of the present historical conjuncture in focusing attention on citizenship, and on education programs to promote it. While it is dangerous to generalise too far, it seems that common influences on these developments are the continuing need to promote the legitimacy of present systems of government in the face of increasingly diverse political constituencies and institutional privatisation, and the fear that cultural, political and economic globalisation is threatening the core identity and cohesion of the nation state.

These fears are usually expressed as concerns about apathy among citizens, and lack of motivation in schools. The Australian Senate inquiry into active and informed citizenship (1989) quoted findings of attitudes among young people of confusion, cynicism, indifference and an unwillingness to become involved in the formal political process. The UK Commission on Citizenship states that 'Our society is passing through a period of change and we are concerned that without our realising it, we could lose some of the benefits of living in the relatively free and open society which we have inherited.' (Commission on Citizenship (1990, p. xv) The US Center for Civic Education (Bahmueller, 1991, p. 3) notes the low voting rate among Americans and the 'widespread disengagement of citizens from the responsibilities and rewards of involvement' and a 'lackadaisical acceptance of their own apathy and inertia'. These comments direct attention to questions of motivation to citizenship and education for citizenship, and this will be a central concern of this discussion.

Approaches to citizenship: liberal individualism

Citizenship is a broad, complex and contested term, and programs in education for citizenship vary with the notion of citizenship which underlies them. (Leca, 1992; Oldfield, 1990) The following discussion traces two major strands in the concept of citizenship which have characterised traditional democratic debate - liberal individualism and more communitarian approaches. From these broad strands a number of specific emphases have developed, with their own implications for the needs and desired capacities of citizens, and hence for education.

Oldfield (1990) identifies liberal individualism as the source of the most influential concept of citizenship in Britain and the United States, where citizenship is a status implying individuals' rights of sovereignty over their lives:

> *The function of the political realm is to render service to individual interests and purposes, to protect citizens in the exercise of their rights, and to leave them unhindered in the pursuit of*

> *whatever individual and collective interests and purposes they might have. Political arrangements are thus seen in utilitarian terms. To the extent that they afford the required protection for citizens and groups to exercise their rights and pursue their purposes, then citizens have little to do politically beyond choose who their leaders are to be. . . One of the rights of citizens within this framework is the right to be active politically: to participate, that is , in more substantial ways than merely by choosing political leaders. Because it is a right, however, citizens choose - on the assumption that they have the resources and the opportunity - when and whether to be active in this way. It is no derogation from their status of citizen if they choose not to be so active.* (p. 2)

Oldfield points out that a major advantage of liberal individualism and the rights based account is that it does not postulate any one conception of the good life. It sets out the procedures, rules and institutional framework which allow individuals to pursue their own visions of the good life, including some provision for minimum levels of welfare and access to allow those deprived of the relevant resources to participate. Based on the philosophy of the autonomous and responsible moral agent, there is no requirement in this view for any commitment to the collective other than to respect the autonomy of others, and to maintain the system of rules and institutions within which individuals can strive to attain the good life. The emphasis is on the political system as a guarantor of individual freedoms.

A good example of this approach is the view of the UK Commission for Citizenship that citizenship refers to 'the separate role of individuals as citizens within the political or public community, and the rules that govern it' (1990, p. xv). The procedural emphasis is classically illustrated in the Commission's statement that 'We consider that citizenship involves the perception and maintenance of an agreed framework of rules or guiding principles, rather than shared values' (1990, p. 13). This definition leads the Commission expressly to exclude the economy and the family as spheres of relations and experiences relevant to citizenship, and to focus on rules (rather than experience, practice or well being) as the essence of citizenship.

The educational prescriptions that flow from this focus primarily on the skills required for participation in this institutional framework of rules, determined by the role of the individual citizen in the political system:

> The Commission regards the element of acquisition of skills as crucial to the success of the citizenship theme; young people should leave a democratic school with some confidence in their ability to participate in their society, to resolve conflict and, if they oppose a course of action to express that opposition fairly, effectively, and peacefully. These skills within school may involve, for example:
>
> - the capacity to debate, argue and present a coherent point of view
> - to participate, for example, in elections
> - taking responsibility by representing others, for example on the School Council
> - working collaboratively
> - playing as a member of a team
> - protesting, for example by writing to a newspaper or councillor or a local store.
>
> The development of social, planning, organisational, negotiating and debating skills is a major part of this theme.
>
> (Commission on Citizenship, 1990, p. 104)

The emphasis on skills and procedure, albeit restricted to the confines of the school, is a classic indication of the liberal individualism at the heart of this proposal. Note that in this view citizens should be armed with the skills to express their opposition to a course of action, but not necessarily to *propose* a course of action. This is consistent with the individualist view that citizenship is primarily about defending one's rights rather than, for instance, working to transform economic, social or political arrangements. Also, there is nothing here about substantive rights or common values which would assist citizens in deciding what course of action should be opposed. The commitment to individual autonomy in the liberal individualist view places this is beyond the role of the state in promoting citizenship.

This concept of the citizen, citizenship rights, and the relation of the citizen to the state is deeply embedded in democratic theory and practice, and is a major plank of popular political thought in English speaking representative democracies. However, it is not without its problems. The first is that it is not a purely individualist argument, since it requires that all members of the community, or at least a majority of them, share the commitment to individual autonomy and are sufficiently committed to it to support the institutions it needs to operate. Second, it follows from this that the individualist position requires that people be motivated to work together to operate such a system. If the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, then some means must be found to sustain the vigilance.

Third, the liberal individualist commitment to rights has led it to a point where the atomistic individual is no longer an adequate model for the holder of rights. The rights which accrue to the individual in the modern state are not only negative rights (freedom from imposition of various kinds) but also, and increasingly, positive ones (freedom of access to various personal, social, political and economic goods), and the extension and development of such rights quite simply outreach the capacity of individualism to encompass them. Rights are increasingly extended to minorities and other groups as collectives and not as individuals, and are justified in terms of normal expectations of levels of wellbeing in particular societies. Liberal individualism then is not a pure form, but rather a strand in a complex web of arguments, policies and practices which go beyond references to the rights and properties of individuals.

Finally, the proviso that the individualist ethos needs to be combined with a welfare orientation to ensure all individuals have access to the system implies obligations to fellow citizens that ultimately undermines the basis in self-interest. Liberal individualism then is inadequate in its own terms, and is not sufficient to encompass the elements of citizenship which characterise current debates.

Communitarian approaches to citizenship

In most policy debates and prescriptions for practice, the focus on individual rights is combined with a more communitarian approach, and this forms the second major strand of the concept of citizenship. Just as people identify themselves as members of families, communities, nations, they also recognise, to varying degrees and in varying ways, obligations implied by these memberships. In this view, citizenship implies membership of a community entailing a juridical status, which confers formal rights and obligations, such as equality under the law, the right to vote, paying taxes or otherwise contributing to the social and economic welfare of the community. The concern is for the extent to which these are safeguarded in law and government, but also whether citizens practice these formally established rights and obligations. The balance between rights and obligations, and the nature and extent of the obligations varies, but the key characteristic of citizenship is the idea of community membership and what that implies for shared values, interests and obligations.

Oldfield (1990) labels this strand the tradition of civic republicanism, in which citizenship is not only a status, but an activity or a practice, so that not to engage in the practice is not to be a citizen. The important educational implication of this strand is that citizens in the civic republican view need to be supported in practising citizenship. They need to be empowered to practise it through access to resources such as knowledge, skills, information and welfare; they need the opportunity to practise it through decentralisation of political and economic power; and they need to be motivated to practise it. Civic republicans therefore are concerned with ensuring that citizens can and do contribute to the practice of citizenship, including fulfilling their obligations as members of the political community.

Promoting obligations is more difficult than promoting rights of self-interest, and this strand of citizenship often carries a tone of austerity and moralism.

> *Civic republicanism is a hard school of thought. There is no cosy warmth in life in such a community. Citizens are called to stern and impor-*

> *tant tasks which have to do with the very sustaining of their identity. There may be, indeed there ought to be, a sense of belonging, but that sense of belonging may not be associated with inner peace and, even if it is, it is not the kind of peace that permits a relaxed and private leisure, still less a disdain for civic concerns.* (Oldfield, 1990, p. 6)

The great difficulty in promoting this view of citizenship (and this is a key issue for educators who have generally been given the responsibility for doing it), is how to motivate people to the communitarian commitment. The common strategy is to say that it is actually in people's individual interests to be so committed, since such a commitment is necessary to support the social contract which guarantees individuals the right to autonomy and privacy. In other words, the instrumental argument for the communitarian view justifies itself by resorting to liberal individualism, and becomes a derivative of it.

A stronger base for the communitarian argument, and a potentially important source of ideas for the motivation problem, is the notion of identity based on what people share with other individuals. Traditional statements of the civic republican view have emphasised the moral and social virtues required for practising and sustaining a democratic ideal, often seeing patriotism and loyalty as simultaneously the sources of citizen identity and the motivation to practise citizenship.

An interesting example is Heater's concept of citizenship in which citizens need to understand that their role entails status, loyalty, duties and rights 'not primarily in relation to another human being, but in relation to an abstract concept, the state'. (Heater, 1990, p. 2) He traces the idea and practice of citizenship from its origins in the Greek city state, arguing that the power of the concept lies in the elements of 'identity and virtue'. (p.182)

This identity is based on social reciprocity and common interests, which may themselves be based on a sense of tradition, ethnicity or way of life, and heightened by systems of beliefs, ceremonies and symbols. Citizenship is one amongst many identities an individual will feel, but it is distinguished by being necessary for moral maturity, and by its potential to moderate the divisiveness of other identity feelings - gender, religion, race, class and nation: 'citizenship helps to tame the divisive passions of other identities'. (Heater, 1990, p. 184) In Heater's view, history, 'a society's collective memory' (p. 184), plays a special role in citizenship identity, along with nationality and fraternity. Equally, the cultural togetherness of nationality and the collaborative sense of purpose in fraternity bind people to a common identity.

Heater identifies loyalty, responsibility and respect for political and social procedural values as the key virtues of citizenship. Loyalty is an emotional attachment to an institution, land, a group or a person, and a belief in the values which the object of loyalty stands for. It is closely linked to identity through the sense of fraternity. The good citizen also has a sense of responsibility to take positive and supportive actions, and understands and accepts legal duties and moral obligations.

In setting out his educational prescriptions, Heater specifies three main objectives. First, he suggests knowledge of the history of citizenship, associated laws and institutions, and the primary value concepts of identity, loyalty, freedom, rights, duties, justice, representation. Second, teachers should stimulate a predisposition to be interested in public affairs, and committed to the values of citizenship, including those listed above as well as fairness and altruism. Finally, intellectual skills and skills of judgment, empathy, communication, participation and action.

Heater's scheme is typical of the civic republican approach to education for citizenship. However, an important problem arises when we consider the grounds on which and the methods by which schools are to instill the values and commitments referred to. In the civic republican view, this is justified by the belief that human beings will not choose this level of agency and form of consciousness unless they are educated into it, but that they would choose it if they could know everything in advance. (Oldfield, 1990, p.153) This paternalistic position is justified in the argument that it is aimed at producing free and autonomous moral beings.

Criticisms of the communitarian approach relate especially to this paternalism, and the associated argument that, in promoting a version of the collective welfare, communitarian prescriptions may be simply the imposition of the identities and interests of some over others. An example of such an approach is Janowitz' (1983) call for the formation of civic consciousness through patriotism developed in forms of national service. Janowitz sees that schools can teach the nation's political traditions and how government institutions operate, and develop 'essential identifications and moral sentiments required for performance as effective citizens' (p. 12).

However, according to Janowitz, schools cannot form the bonds between citizens which create in them the obligation to perform the duties of citizenship unless they include some form of military or civilian service. This can only be done by 'immersing them in a social setting that emphasizes work and service in the context of symbols of national (or community) identification' (p. 169). Janowitz mentions environmental conservation projects, assistance in the control of natural or man-made disasters, and educational and social work programs as the type of activities which might develop the affiliation with the social which citizenship requires. At the level of national affiliation, of patriotism, Janowitz advocates national service as the key to the development of civic obligation.

Communitarian approaches are not always so overbearing, but they do share the problem of how to define and develop the shared commitment to some collective interest. However, as we have seen, and contrary to some claims, the liberal individualist approach also requires a similar commitment. In this sense, the two strands have a common interest in finding a base for commitment, a solution to the motivation problem.

Problems of individualism and communitarianism: identity and motivation

We have seen that neither the individualist nor the communitarian approach is adequate in its own terms. The individualist prescription must rely on some communal commitments for its existence, and developments in the concept of rights are making the individualist view of them increasingly untenable. Similarly, the communitarian view often finds itself resorting to arguments of individual self-interest as its justification.

However, both approaches share other drawbacks which have important implications for education. First, it must be doubted that either the individualist or the communitarian views as rendered here are viable responses to the social, economic, political and cultural changes which are sweeping the world. As outlined earlier, the Western world is in a process of change which goes to the heart of the individual-society relationship in which the concept of citizenship has developed. The processes of globalisation challenge the adequacy of the nation as the base for citizenship, introducing new rights and obligations for which the nation state is to a large extent only a proxy for supra-national institutions.

The focus of liberal individualism on the rules and processes of national government is clearly challenged here, and the civic republican emphasis on the nation state as the source of legitimacy and identity is also threatened. If there have been difficulties in involving citizens in these processes and commitments at the national level, how are they to be developed in a global context?

The second problem with these approaches is their abstractness from the complex experiences of everyday life. The restriction of the individualist approach to the formal mechanisms of public politics limits its usefulness, since it excludes consideration of important areas of human experience, both public and private. Similarly, the communitarian approach emphasises abstract ideals of nation or community to which people are to be committed in their public role as citizens, and tends to be preoccupied with notions of nationhood and loyalty, again taking for granted the significance of these commitments at the level of everyday personal experience.

The great gap in these views is the lack of systematic attention to people's personal experience in their everyday lives, including the work place and private life, and how the abstract elements of citizenship are related to these spheres. This is especially significant in view of the growing acceptance of identity politics, the political work of movements which organise around sexuality, gender and ethnicity, where political activity involves a 'process of making and remaking ourselves'. (Brunt, 1989, p. 151)

> *Identity politics expresses the notion that individual and collective identities - race, gender,*

> *sexual preference, class background, and so forth - thoroughly infuse all political preferences and visions. . .subject positions take precedence over, say, ethics in giving form to political beliefs. As such, they fundamentally depart from the universalizing tendencies of citizenship-based politics; for practitioners of identity politics, particularities not only matter, they are the stuff of which political thought is made.* (Kauffman, 1990, p. 10).

Identity politics sees the socially-defined personal and interpersonal realms as the most important site of power relations ('the personal is political'), and its practitioners 'tend to focus more heavily on individual and group self-transformation than on engaging with the state'. (Kauffman, 1990, p.10) In this sense, identity politics is the direct opposite to the Commission on Citizenship's focus on rules. Similarly, identity politics has little interest in the abstractions of loyalty to and identification with the state. In identity politics the concern is much more for how people experience power relations in their everyday lives, and how their sense of themselves and their relations with others is given meaning. Taking political action, participating in the political process in all its diversity, becomes a matter of self-construction, reflection and expression with others who share similar commitments.

The significance of these issues for motivation is that if people are told that citizenship is unrelated to work, family and other elements of their everyday experience as persons, they might justifiably doubt its value. Similarly, if educators try to promote citizenship ideals and involvement without considering its personal significance for people in their everyday lives, students are unlikely to accept them.

In addition to abstractness, a third problem in the procedural emphasis of the individualist approach and the emphasis on virtues and ideals of the communitarians, is a lack of the substance which lies at the heart of the real attractions of citizenship, that is, the broad range of entitlements which accrue to citizens. The classic modern concept of citizenship established by T. H. Marshall (1964) at least had the benefit of recognising the civil, the political and the social spheres of citizenship. In the modern world, while all three are important, it is the third which holds the greatest potential for citizens of the developed nations. Here the chief concerns relate to the equitable distribution of access to normally expected levels of wellbeing. Evidence for this lies in the surveys which show that British citizens place the social rights to minimum standards of living, medical care, work and education at the forefront of the rights of citizenship (Johnston Conover, Crewe and Searing (1990) quoted in Commission on Citizenship, 1990, p. 6). Yet the focus on procedural rights and national sentiments in the main strands of citizenship discussed here excludes the material base of much of the value of citizenship for people in their daily lives.

Making sense of the world and our place in it is not achieved through rational abstract ideas of the state, but by reflecting on the realm of everyday experience and how it constructs our sense of ourselves. If schools wish to find the answer to the motivations of young people towards participation, not to mention the broader notion of citizenship, then they need to understand how the experiences of the young and their social location are represented to them by the cultures in which they live and those which they construct themselves. They also need to show that citizenship can be about the very concrete experiences of the everyday, and that global change can be seen and acted on at the local level.

Two areas illustrate what such an education for citizenship might entail - the experience of citizenship entitlements and action in the cultural and environmental spheres of everyday life. The following discussion reviews examples of education in these spheres as models for a more effective education for citizenship.

Education for citizenship and cultural politics

The political importance of the cultural lies in its increasing dominance as a form of life in the postmodern society, but for educators it also has a special significance for the clients of schooling: the cultural sphere is the sphere of the young. The youth culture industries are among the most widely penetrated by the postmodern society and its media forms. For some, like the UK Commission, this is a threat to the nation. For others, like Wexler, it threatens any form of community identity. However, others see in it new possibilities for a politics based in these cultural forms themselves.

Willis, for instance, argues that what organization and protest has been generated by youth has drawn from 'an enormous reservoir of informal passion and energy and a sensuous hunger for access to and control of usable symbolic materials, their means of production and reproduction, as well as cultural assets and spaces necessary for their exercise'. (Willis, 1990, p. 144) The 'proto-communities' that result from the serial and random contacts of popular culture do have the capacity to identify the influences that shape young people's private powers and those of others, a consciousness of a common culture as an arena of choice and control. 'The possibility of connecting with these, and interconnecting them is the promise of the politics of the future'. (p. 147) Youth culture is the arena where citizenship and identity can be connected in ways that are clear, concrete, and mutually supporting.

> *The starting point I'd suggest for any politics of identity is the issue of 'representation': both how our identities are represented in and through the culture and assigned particular categories; and also who or what politically represents us, speaks and acts on our behalf. These two senses of 'representation' alert us to the whole areas of culture and ideology as we live it and as it is lived and directly experienced by us. They help us think how we both 'make sense' of the world and get a sense of our 'place' in it - a place of many, and increasing, identities.*
> (Brunt, 1989, p. 152).

A useful example lies in the project reported by Cohen (1990) which developed a course in photography as a form of social and personal education for students in a school-work transition program. Seeking a form of 'really useful knowledge', Cohen and his colleagues chose an apprenticeship model of pedagogy, combining learning on the job from skilled practitioners with the social relationships of co-worker which such a paradigm makes possible. This was not an 'apprenticeship in its traditional patriarchal form, or confined purely to the techniques or craft of photography', but was 'a wider process of social and cultural mastery over the process of representation'. (Cohen, 1990, p. 3) Cohen chose a cultural studies perspective for the educational connections it provided between cultural theory and political consciousness, and between technical and political education.

By producing photographic exhibitions of the nature of work, the transition process and their personal biographies, Cohen's students explored the tensions between the official and unofficial versions of transition, and the 'autobiographical grammars through which these positions are lived and given meaning'. (p.7)

One project involved a group of mostly black girls in a community care course which explored the pressures from family, school and work which were channelling these girls into a traditional servicing role. In other work the issue of gendered transitions was developed in a project on the position of women in popular music. Working with a girls band trying to make the transition from amateur to semi-professional status, students explored the links between cultural practice and political and economic structure.

> *The practical difficulties of combining their musical interests with having to earn a living by other means, the desire to 'make it' on the music scene without exploiting their femininity either ideologically or commercially, the excitements and anxieties of 'doing a gig', the construction of a group image, the pain and sweat of getting it all together, these were some of the themes which the girls addressed in their collective self portrait.* (Cohen, 1990, p. 9).

The project sought to focus on the cultural practices which 'positioned boys and girls subliminally (and asymmetrically) within various fields of 'personal' discourse centred on the youth question'. (p.9) Cohen notes that the popular cultures formed around computers, video, photography, and stereo, illustrate how technologies can be transformed by the social relations of their use. Private home consumption combines with the public discourse of the forms, styles and practices of the media, but it is also true that 'the enlarged reproduction of dominant imagery is potentially interrupted by new facilities for do-it-yourself culture'. (p. 17) In all of this there is the development of the ability to decode the ideological messages of the culture industries, major potential sites of employment of the 'new' working class.

The important features of the project are its concern that students were able to critically analyse the ideological messages in the way transition to work is constructed in official policy, institutional practices and the common sense assumptions of their own milieu; the opportunity to re-present the process of transition from their point of view, and to relate it to an exploration of their own personal biographies; the recognition that cultural practices are sites of economic and other forms of power, linking with gender, race and class concerns; and that the practice of representing these insights itself involves mastering the technology of cultural forms as well as their political and economic significance. The project shows how cultural politics can link to civil, political and social forms of citizenship, where students consider their entitlements and how they can maximise their access to them.

Cultural politics is a necessary element of citizenship in the semiotic society, for interpreting and producing the meanings through which experience is represented becomes an important dimension of citizenship rights, along with those of contract and personal rights, political participation and welfare. However, this expressive form of entitlement in the cultural sphere inevitably connects with other spheres and their corresponding forms of citizenship. If rights of access to cultural expression are to be realized, the civil, political and social rights of traditional citizenship are also necessary. These in turn cannot be applied separately from particular kinds of economic organisation. Both corporate capitalism and state socialism are too singular, closed and hierarchical to foster such a range of rights. To sustain the conventional forms of citizenship, and to extend them to the cultural sphere, participation and power sharing in economic life should be seen as parallels to the conventional entitlements of membership, more so than the traditional focus on legal rights and parliamentary politics would allow.

Education for citizenship and environmental politics

In discussing his curriculum development work with the World Wildlife Fund and the United Kingdom Global Environmental Education Programme, John Huckle (1987a, p. 147) opens by citing the ubiquity in everyday life of the fast food chains:

> *Fast food has become a staple of the young generation. It is sold in an environment where the decor, atmosphere, and uniforms are designed to stimulate excitement and advertised with images which promise everything nutritious, convenient and desirable.*

Yet the resource costs of wasteful packaging, of disposing of litter, and of clearing land for the beef industry are not part of this consumer consciousness. Nor are the social and economic costs of the low wage regime on which it is based, or the health risks involved in eating as a form of image making rather than nutrition. Huckle's curriculum project *What We Consume* (Huckle, 1987b) takes up these relations by showing the connections among economic production and distribution, power, social structure and culture and ideology through an educational strategy based on political literacy. (Porter, 1983) Huckle's work demonstrates the close connections among popular culture, a consumer economy, environmental quality and power in the everyday experiences of the young, and how these experiences provide a fertile ground for curriculum work - an excellent example of the approach to education for citizenship being advocated here.

Environmental politics is, for many of its practitioners, a form of identity or lifestyle politics, where people construct their identities in a sense of oneness with the world, and through a shared experience with others in environmental social movements. Petra Kelly of the German Greens wrote of the spirituality surrounding green politics, in which 'one's personal life is truly political and one's political life is truly personal' (quoted in Spretnak and Capra, 1985, p. 52). The commitment of young people to environmental movements such as Greenpeace, and the remarkable proliferation of environmental organisations of all kinds is telling evidence of their potential for citizen involvement.

Environmentalism can be seen simply as a technical process whereby problems are addressed with the increasingly sophisticated scientific knowledge at our disposal - what Slocombe (1987) describes as 'environmentalism as plan'. As such, environmentalism has few implications for citizenship, as environmental problems are no different from other problems of economic and technological development. On the other hand, Slocombe recognises a second stream of 'environmentalism as goal', where problems become matters of changing human value systems and world views. Gough (1989) notes that this ecological consciousness can be seen as a new paradigm of thought, while Robottom and Hart (1993) point to the increasing significance of what Skolimowski (1981) described as an ecophilosophy, an emerging world view which has had a profound effect on the environmental movement, and through it on public consciousness itself.

Ecophilosophy is distinguished from conventional philosophy by its orientation to life rather than language and to commitment and political awareness rather than objective detachment and neutrality. It is holistic and global rather than analytical and reductionist, and concerned with wisdom and judgment rather than information and abstract systems thinking. While traditional philosophy is based on dualisms which oppose mind with matter, persons with things, ecophilosophy sees human existence as part of nature. This ecological view of human existence explains ecophilosophy's concern for cooperation, collaborative action and a communal approach to social organisation and welfare. Each person's inextricable role in the web of life means that everyone has a direct responsibility for the environment, an obligation that cannot be passed off to experts. In all these ways, ecophilosophy is approaching the status of a new foundation for citizenship, a new basis for a common sense of shared goals and responsibilities. The difference from earlier ideals of citizen obligation, such as nationalism and other forms of communitarianism, is that the environmental consciousness is a material fact of our everyday existence. This salience in experience gives it a powerful potential for motivating citizens to action.

The significance of these developments for education for citizenship lies in their translation into a concept of education *for* the environment. This is distinguished from education about the environment, where the emphasis is on knowledge of ecology and other environmental concepts and information, and education in the environment, in which field studies are the main focus. Fien (1993, p. 59) defines education for the environment as one which 'provides opportunities for students to participate actively in maintaining and improving the environment through the critical appraisal of environmental situations and issues, the development of an environmental ethic and the understanding, motivation and skills to act on their values and commitments'.

Environmental education is becoming increasingly important as a site for integrating social, economic and political learning, and examples are reported world wide. Of particular interest are those in the third world (Briceno and Pitt, 1988), Russia (Corcoran, 1994), and Hong Kong (Wong, 1994), where environmental politics is related to international economic and political power in ways not always so obvious in the West.

Curriculum work in environmental education in Australia offers numerous examples of education for citizenship. (Fien, n.d.) The Earth Education movement is spreading across many schools, as are water quality monitoring programs (Greenall Gough, 1990). Robottom and Hart (1993) describe a participatory research project on environmental health in which a youth network, formed as a consultative group for local government, became members of a participatory action research team studying environmental and health issues. Greenall Gough and Robottom (1993) report a school program where students monitoring water quality revealed high levels of pollution in a popular beach. Using Freedom of Information legislation and the local media, students triggered a series of important responses. The issue was taken up by state and national media, local organisations like the surfriders association, a local health centre and the State Rural Water Commission, and other schools. Ultimately, the local Water Board was requested by the State Minister for Environment and Planning to improve sewage treatment facilities.

The summary of this experience is a powerful advertisement for environmental education as education for citizenship:

> *The changes in community consciousness stimulated by the activities of Queenscliff High School staff and students brought about a major redistribution of resources aimed at environmental protection . . . There were changes in the ways certain sectors of the community related to other sectors of the community. There was criticism of conventional wisdoms: for example that the government agency's authority in respect of water management need not and should not be questioned. And there was the realization that individuals can act collectively to shape society in a way which recognises, but is to some extent independent of, the constraining influences of traditional hierarchical bureaucracies.* (Greenall Gough and Robottom, 1993, p. 313).

In seeking solutions to the problems of motivation for education for citizenship, the success of programs like these, and of environmentalism in general, provides food for thought. As a crucially important aspect of human existence in the twenty-first century, environmental quality is becoming a major component of citizen and government concern. As a source of new ideas and experience of citizen action and shared commitment to common goals, environmentalism is developing as a central strand of the concept of citizenship itself. Education for citizenship and education for the environment ultimately become indistinguishable.

Conclusion

Contemporary global change requires an extension of the concept of citizenship into the spheres of cultural expression, economic production, and environmental sustainability. To engage students in these spheres, educational programs must focus on entitlements in the various discourses and experiences of everyday life, showing the connections among them, and the need to deal with life experience in its essential connectedness. In this way citizens are empowered to understand change, form alliances and develop strategies for the future. As a result, the rights of liberal individualism, the ethos of communitarianism, and the shared sense of common destiny of environmentalism can be interwoven into a concept of citizenship more appropriate to present circumstances.

An education which promotes this view of citizen entitlements would not be distracted by calls for loyalty to the symbols of hierarchical economic or political power, or to the abstract ideals of a past golden age, however well intentioned. Education for citizenship must focus on concrete principles of rights and the practices of political action. Since the power of cultural expression is to some extent already accessible to youth, and plays an important role in their understanding of self and others, the incorporation of a political economy of the cultural into the concept of citizenship is an important part of this strategy. Similarly, the power of environmentalism for young people and their images of the future is a fertile area for developing the skills and commitments of citizenship. Such studies could further show the value of conventional forms of citizenship in civil and political rights, and the need to extend these more fully to the social and economic spheres.

Education for citizenship must address the problems of political participation in ways that acknowledge the characteristics of contemporary global change. By focusing primarily on the liberal rule of law and its institutions, or on an abstract concept of a unified community as competing versions of the citizenship ideal, conventional approaches cannot connect with the chief concerns or experiences of young people in a postindustrial, postmodern age. To motivate students to citizenship, education for citizenship must connect to their developing identity, their sense of what is important to them. The political economy of culture and the environment are potentially powerful means to this end.

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Chapter IV

Autonomy

Some Questions of the Process of Democracy of Education in Russia

Helena Kurakina

Democracy of education is very important for modern Russia. We are living in a changing society. Nobody is sure about the result of this change, at least not how long the period will be. And in such a situation we are responsible for education of a new generation. This short article is just about some questions or problems of democratisation of our education. First of all it is necessary to stress that we hope to live in a real democratic society. That is why we have two main aims in bringing up the children: to educate them for their future adult life in democracy and to teach them to be able to live in a changing society. And sometimes it does not mean the same.

It is very important to be able to work in cooperation with teachers and researchers from different countries. Some of the most interesting research of the problem is the project of the Laboratory of Democratic Educational Research "Democracy, Citizenship and International Education" in which Russia is supposed to be a partner. The international conference on "Democracy in Schools, Citizenship and Global Concern" is extremely interesting because of all the opportunities it gives to investigators, first of all the opportunity of a dialogue. I understand dialogue as a concept of action research as Knud Jensen, Ole B. Larsen and Steve Walker have described it in their work "Democracy in School and Action Research".

I suppose it would be more correct to speak about the democratic socialisation of the children in our country taking into consideration the special social situation. Education in Russia has the orientation of democratic socialization. In general socialization is understood as a process of active accept of values, social roles and behavior which includes the knowing, ability and social skills.

Democratic citizenship where every person is informed, active and responsible is one of the most important areas of education. It includes social and moral values which are understood to be taken on the private level, capacity to see, understand and participate in the social situations including cultural aspects, knowledge about laws and rights, critical and creative thinking, psychological ability to fulfil a person's social roles, personal and inter-personal social skills to be able to coordinate activity with the whole society. An expected result of this process is an active citizen who has a democratic style of life and thinking. Being a part of society means that we live in accordance with a structured practice and can live in a changing society as well. Cultural level of socialization is very important because it is not strictly specific for a concrete country but is rather international. That means that it provides international understanding and makes possible communication of representatives from different cultures.

Democratic socialisation includes not only social and educational, but psychological aspects as well as some others.

The problem of democratic socialisation is not only of education, but philosophy, sociology, psychology, politology etc. Life forms research must be the ground of the socialization process to be concrete and coordinated with life practise.

One of the first scientists who used this term "socialization" was the famous sociologist and educator E. Durkheim who considered the whole process of education to be as planned socialization of the young generation. In his understanding he rather had followed some concepts of G. H. Mead.

There is a lot of different theories of socialization in different sciences. Of course they all have general and special features. In this short article I would prefer to speak about the most general of them and about some specific features of this process in Russia.

Concepts and schools of the structural-functional analysis, symbolic interractionism and cultural anthropology seem to be of most influence of the social concepts of socialization, through they are not about the same aspects of it. Thus, scientists who were interested in the problems of structural-functional analyses tries to outline the ideological basis of socialisation, for example T. Parsons, U. Mitchell, K. Langton. Concept of conflicts of R. Darendorf was around problems of education of critical thinking persons. Concepts of symbolic interractionism worked out the ways and variants of personal socialization-psychological aspects. Theories of cultural anthropology are most up to date. Cultural socialization is understood as a process of transmission culture of a society, its normative-evaluating system from one generation to another. Almost all these concepts has taken into consideration general ideas of Z. Freud and E. Erikson. Now when we speak about the process of democratic socialization we mostly speak about the influence of the ideas of Dewey, Piaget, Vygotsky, Erikson and others - it depends on the aspect of the process. Democracy as a style of life and a style of socialization is not only a result but the necessary condition of successful education.

In Russian pedagogics (the science of education) there was a very strong ideological orientation. Now we can see great changes, ideas of education are not presented as "progressive" or "reactional". In our time dialogue between researchers of different societies became possible. We have a wave of self-criticism, everything seems to be reconstructed. But we should not be eager to ruin our system o education, we should change a lot inside it but not to loose.

In this situation the ideas of democracy and international education become very important because they give the opportunity of a dialogue. We must have time to recognize and to feel different variants and to choose optimal ones. Democratic way of education should be as a general law.

Special interest to the problems of democratic education started in the beginning of the so-called "Perestroika". Now we have some results in education. Democratic ideals and freedom of choice has become a reality to Russian schools and teachers.

The process of moral education in Russia is rather dramatic because the youth's value orientation has changed. Everybody knows about human rights, they existed formally and were put down in all the Soviet Constitutions. But most of the citizens were educated just to be able to function as initiative persons within certain frames of the society; not being able to change it or to create something or create something different neither in the ideology nor in the economy. So, in the situation of changes of society people were not ready to participate.

There were some people who could use the situation and have managed to make quick money, so they became rather free, sometimes free from laws. And that mixed the moral values of young citizens, they saw bad examples. During this period, nervous tension, lawlessness and moneylessness became common for the social environments of the largest part of the Russian population, especially in big cities. People had to decide what to do, they were not free to chose, but they had to earn money at several jobs or at a job, they did not like. So economic values and money became one of the important things, what they had not been earlier. It is new and that is why it is hard in our days in Russia. It would not be so dangerous if it had not become one of the life's moral values for young people. They became very critical to education if it is not preparing them to earn money. Thus, we can watch a phenomenon of appearance of new moral value. Most of the different social values changed their importance: family, money, job, religion. Interest in politics is not so high as before.

During the process of democratisation, a complex of cultural, political and economic social systems influates the values. In our days economic pressure is the most strong in Russia. One of the aims of democratic socialization is to make a person able to have an active role in the changing society, but not to have only economic value orientation. Democratically oriented values, democracy of education which promotes fair and cooperative behaviour becomes extremely important. It is necessary for a person to receive the skills of non-stop social active adaptation to be active during the life and to have psychological and moral stability. It means he must be self-resourceful, active in decisions and actions and to be able to get results of his activity and to evaluate them.

Democratic education without doubt constructs values and it is not any kind of pressure. A person receives these values himself. But of course, it is some kind of power of a teacher, because the teacher chooses this or that direction and style of education. In this particular case it is democracy. Not only at the functional level, but as a process of transmission and admission of general human and democratic values.

The social environment of a child is very important. Usually it includes family, school, groups of friends, church, children's and youth's clubs and organisations, mass media, society as a whole. But school is the most professional in the process of democratic education and socialization because of the teachers. As almost every child is to go to school it has the ability to be the main institution of democratic socialization.

The ideas and principles of democratization and socialization in schools are the aims of a continuos process of school life. Teachers, pupils and parents are active partners in it. The process of democratic socialization needs every participant to be informed and active at a constructive level and as a result to be positive active in the process and to be a positive active citizen in the society. It is impossible not to agree with the authors of the work "Democratization of Education": that this process has three phases: the conception phase, action phase and the evaluation phase. Without doubt it is for the most possible fields of activity: physical, mental, cultural, productive and social. Such democratic principles of the process should be taken into consideration as freedom of expression and publicity, resourcefulness and self-administration, and individual's and collective development.

School education has a lot of methods, styles and possibilities, but it is common that during all times and in all countries education is considered to be far from perfect. It is not a surprise because we educate children today, but receive the results in the future. Future life is different and evaluation is another. It is almost impossible to evaluate the results of the socialization if they are very concrete, because the social situation is changing. You give education to a child in one social situation and it is possible that he will live in another. So, it seems to be rather clever to analyse not the result but the process of bringing up and education.

During the process of democratic socializaton it is very important to have a child's positive motivation to participate. Such method of democratization as dialogue when children discuss all the problems together with a teacher is very effective. Very important is to study humanities using the interdisciplinary approach and the method of projects in the process of education, but that is not the subject of this article.

In our days Russian schools and teachers are rather free in their choice of methods of education and of textbooks. It is necessary for them to be able to use a democratic style of teaching. It is important to follow the democratic principles and methods during the whole everyday school life and work, and especially during the lessons in order not to make the results verbal but personal. We should not be very optimistic about the problem of equality of verbalism and activism of a child. Sometimes and rather often a child's knowledge about the way of acting does not mean that he will act in the way he knows. That is why it seems very important for the whole educational process in school to follow the main principles of democracy of education which were analysed by the Laboratory of Democratic Educational Research at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies. They are summarized as follows:

- freedom of expression and publicity,
- resourcefulness and self-administration,
- tension (connection) between the individual and collective development.

In such an educational process the role of the teacher is great. His education is not less important than the school's problems. The question of teachers' professionalism is up to date in Russia as in other countries and as always. Teachers' education must be competent to provide knowledge and skills of democratic socialization of children. From this point of view frames of the theory of education can be revised and new themes and some special courses should be studies at the teachers' educational institutions. It is necessary to do because the process of democratization is a style of teaching and a style of education. The result of it is a style of living.

The main method of cooperation between students, teachers and researchers including international cooperation is a dialogue on different levels about all problems and questions. It is more necessary for Russian educators in our days as never before. In Russia it is very important to educate children in the way of democratic socialization, to educate them as modern citizens without loosing the high moral and cultural educational perspective. We are to be optimistic about the results of democracy of education in Russia, but we must be patient, because it will take time.

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Educational Policy in contemporary Estonia

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Discussions about the existence of educational policy in Estonia seem somewhat inadequate, because people differ in their opinion about the essence of educational policy: some think it is a set of principles, priorities or prerogatives used in educational management, the others consider it to be a complex policy basing on a scientifically founded system and developed to perfectness characteristic to the developed countries.

Even a fragmentary, contradictory, unbalanced and inconsistent policy is policy anyway. Accordingly - it would be adequate to ask *what is the* educational policy *like* in Estonia today?

As Estonia is at the moment re-establishing its foundations of democratic school system, is the need for educational policy elaborated to perfectness especially great.

Interest in educational policy is also caused by educational research - the genesis of educational policy and development is (like an eclipse of the Moon to the astronomists) an extraordinary opportunity to observe and fix the regularities, contradictions and problems of that unique event (as phenomenon and process) for researchers from outside of Estonia.

As everybody knows, Estonia inherited from the empire society a clumsy, standardized, non-effective and expensive school system, which was tuned to production of education used for serving the subordinate ways of life. Its returning to democratic directions is not possible without essential fundamental innovations in each particular school separately.

However, the period of occupation could not uproot entirely democratic ideas from Estonian education, although it left its deep marks on it.

Emancipation of occupation did not automatically bring along changes in the inner world of all the educational leaders, school culture and educational ideology in general.

In real educational policy the totalitarian ideology still exists fragmentarily in the minds and separate deeds of educational actors, in-school culture, in traditions and in latent curriculum.

Educational policy, which could be followed in reality cannot be changed (innovated) in full scale, as the remnants of old policy will be preserved in attitudes, thinking models, understandings and actions of many people.

That is the reason why we had to start to create educational policy not that much onto the ruins of totalitarian educational policy as to the traditions from the past of Estonian national culture and ideology of the preoccupation period.

Considering the above mentioned, it should be clear why there is so much unclear, disputable, contradictionary and misleading. Estonian educational policy lacks necessary methodological-conceptual basis.

As nobody is working especially at formation of educational policy in Estonia (our Ministry of Education deals only with policy of schooling) so the educational policy in Estonia develops according to various situations and has a tendency to be formed as a conglomerate of sporadic priorities of some louder-speaking political powers. The balanced holistic structure considering necessary generalizing levels and aspects of handling in our educational policy is left to be guided by at random influencing factors and chaos. According to the educational policy of that kind the results expected from development of contemporary school system will be most questionable. Educational policy without theoretical foundations, general framework and balanced structure cannot be perfect - gaps, contradictions and questionable items are unavoidable in it; quite often some priorities will not be noticed at all.

The essential subjects of Estonian educational policy are undoubtedly the political parties. Several democrats, liberal democrats and political fraction "Homeland" has a policy on the level of a more or less holistic imagination which is also documented; other political parties and movements have fixed it somewhat less.

Beside political parties and fractions in the role of subjects of educational policy also act organizations of school leaders, pedagogical societies, the Ministry of Culture and Education, the State Board of Education, municipal authorities and their educational departments, schools, educational researchers and individuals.

However, the Ministry of Education deals only with schooling and schooling policy. The other ministries do not participate actively in educational policy either. Literary and art societies and research institutions have also remained aside. In local press the problems of schooling dominate over problems of education. The teachers have also been inactive, they do not even have their official representative body. Neither parents nor students participate in educational policy. Local educational societies, through which educational innovations of 1920-ies succeeded have not yet been restored. That is the reason why local educational policy is still in his early developmental stage. The educational policy of parties, political fractions and, accordingly, of the parliament is taking more distinctive shape. However, it is still far from perfection. Educational policy of the parliament is still quite imperfect, sometimes contradictory and fragmentary with several gaps, and often bearing a mark of a certain political fraction. It is quite understandable as the whole time and energy has been spent on the generation of legislation on the way towards democracy several influences of totalitarian approach are still be felt. An attempt has been made to follow the historical sequences at restoring priorities of educational policy of 1920-ies (primary school of six grades, school as a local centre of cultural development). But, unfortunately, realities of remnants from the totalitarian era are still to be felt and there is also a lack of persistence - a lot of fights and leaps are observed.

A relation between culture and society, and a relation between history and society have gained in value. Also centeredness on human person is gaining new values. The scarcity of subjects of educational policy has not clearly recognized the necessity to accept each other and has created certain preconditions for development of a certain monopolism. This tendency is found also among educational researches, related to educational policy. Increase of tolerance and cooperation between researchers would help to diminish the general tendency of inflexibility in educational policy.

Proportions in relations between municipalities and state have not yet been explicitly formed in Estonian educational policy. Too much is being decided on the state level. No final balance has been achieved in relations between political fractions. The role of officials is still too great in educational policy.

Imagination of education of new (democratic) type has not yet been become widely known. The purpose of education and social role of regulation are not finally clear either. Neither it is clear what way will be chosen for transfer from totalitarian education to democracy. Very often they think that the main problem in innovation is the reorganization of network school, the separation of basic (compulsory) school from upper secondary school etc. Instead of bottom-up developments there are innovations of perestroika-type top-down character, introduced by methods of power.

Estonian educational policy has not yet got entirely rid of Soviet demagogy. Under the slogan of people's interests very often interests of aristocracy or plutocracy have been presented.

Therefore it is not clear what the aspirations of Estonian educational policy are, or where are we heading.: will the Estonian education be liberal-democratic, social-democratic, socialist etc. Discussions about paradigms are still on their initial stage. Therefore even that is not clear, if educational policy will be objectivistic or relativistic or elitarian, as we have not yet got rid of many deformations on the context of individual, society or knowledge.

We have not yet agreed, if the education will be a means of reproduction of labour power or a means of liberation of a person's inner world, or do we need fundamental or operational education. It is not yet clear what is to be considered of primary importance: free development of a personality, competence or concrete knowledge; neither is clear how should we fix norms or standards for these areas of achievement.

Several strategic decisions about educational policy have not yet been taken. Priorities like: should we preserve the existing or introduce new; should we pay main attention to the rational side or to emotional-ethical aspects of education - have not yet been ascertained.

Will the society pay its main attention to retired people, to people of employment age or to children; to what extent will secondary and higher education be paid by learners; what will be profiles for teacher training; what will be the proportions of responsibility between state and family in the sphere of basic education; what will be the proportions between public and private education, between formal and free education - all these problems are still waiting to be solved.

The cap-stone of educational policy is the state curriculum in relations with local curricula. This strategic decision is being put into practice now. Regarding this, there seems to be a solution to the problem, if the educational policy will be created in a final ready-made form or as a process of everlasting innovation and development. Also some clarity is developing in the principles of educational network (regional differentiation, continuity, multiple choice of options, absence of cul-de-sacs etc.). Regarding tactical priorities the indefinite situation develops from the absence of strategic priorities or from their unclear ascertainment.

Shall we hurry with external innovations or shall we take the way of peaceful internal development; shall we introduce innovations using power or will we rely on self development; will educational system be active and it possesses subjectivity at settling up problems to other official bodies or will it passively fulfil the demands of others; shall we develop local education policy basing on educational policy of the state policy or vice versa; shall we allow the educational reform to slow down or shall we start actively to eliminate preventive factors; shall we allow to obtain with vocational education also general education and with general education also simple vocational qualification; shall we take example from the history of independent Estonia, from the totalitarian era or from the West or shall we create our own original tactics; shall we buy brains from abroad or shall we train them locally; shall we develop our own schooling potential or shall we sell our schooling market to the foreign companies; which liberties shall we give to school for development of their own curricula etc.

All the above mentioned is just a mere part of those tactical priorities where there is no social agreement yet achieved.

No agreement has been achieved also considering the priorities of all the principles. Discussions about learner-centeredness are still going on. Will the pupils be prepared for adjustment in the society or for development of their own society; will the freedom of an individual and autonomy of his inner world be prior to knowledge according to the state standard; if and how should school encode into students the need to permanent self education and development; how great should be the students freedom of choice considering the content of education on different school levels; should the disabled study at ordinary public schools or in special institutions; to what extent should we preserve all that positive that was achieved during many years at Estonian schools; what must be done with those students who are not able and do not want to acquire general education; is the school an institution rendering services to parents, institution directing students' development, offering academic knowledge; how should the talents be found and developed; must the educational costs of rural children be as high as they are in towns; is the English language more essential for Estonia than German or Russian etc. This list of priorities of principles in education is by no means complete.

Up to the present day it has not become clear if educational legislation is really to be followed or are they more like imaginary principles, which could be followed as anybody likes; should educational policy be followed according to the same interpretation in all governmental offices and departments of the Ministry of Education and institutions subordinated to it or is each of them entitled to practise their own policies.

Analysing Estonian educational policy as a whole the eclectical character of its carrying area is to be observed. Educational policy is mostly centred on the organizational level of an educational institution. From that level lower, i.e. on the level of process we have to deal with the schooling policy.

The educational governing body has tried to achieve a lot in this particular field, and sometimes they have managed to reach "lower" levels, i.e. the level of action policy of a concrete school and management. From the organizational level "upwards" i.e. on the level of environment is the Estonian educational policy somewhat thinner. It concerns the objectives their hierarchy, strategy and tactics. Very thin is the Estonian educational policy on its highest level - i.e. the level of culture. It concerns educational theories, their methodologies, the potential of educational researchers and educational ethics, which constitute the ideological-theoretical foundations to the educational policy. In case these foundations are thin, there is no hope that systematic and complex educational policy could develop. This field, however, does not belong to the competence of educational governmental body alone. It is a general public problem, which first of all should be the concern of our parliament.

The question is, if we will only chatter about the survival of the Estonian nation or will we take concrete steps for it; if and into what world are we trying to enter; will we develop policy as an unattainable ideal or a policy which could be implemented in practice provided with resources.

Democratisation, Citizenship and International Education

Knud Jensen

Abstract

The article is about the different concerns and different kind of co-operation being used in an international educational project to do with school improvement. Finding partners have a story and so do the conceptual platform based on democratisation, citizenship and international education. The project is one of partnership and in a variety of ways, links together schools and educational research centres in the three cities - Moscow, Birmingham (England) and Copenhagen.

The schools introduce themselves elsewhere in this book. Shortly the schools' introductions begins by describing the conceptual frameworks which have been selected as providing the most appropriate platform for school improvement in each of the three countries.

The platform is shortly introduced. For the Russian partners this framework is the vision and conceptual area usually called "International Education": for the English partners it is "Citizenship Education" and the Danish partners, it is the Democratisation of Education.

The joint venture will operate in several fields; in classrooms, school innovations, research and further education of teachers. In research one can talk about a general dedication to the project but also about individual interest in the benefit of research of this kind, but always including and relating to the other's interest, access, resources and actions.

Finding partners

When the idea to build a joint educational research and development venture was first muted, it proved, at least to a certain degree, to be important both to delineate shared interests and perspectives for those taking part and to identify as many comparable or similar conditions of schooling and research as possible. The search to find the partners, in fact started with quite personal contacts between academics at Newman College, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole and colleagues in Moscow, who also formed the idea and developed it on the background of former cooperation.

In deciding which schools might be invited to share in the development of the international programme, it was clear that the best placed were ordinary comprehensive schools although located in different cities and different educational systems, where physically in broadly similar geographical and socio-cultural areas. In the same way, the researchers connected to the individual schools come from broadly similar academic and research traditions and methodological orientations.

Generally, one can describe the school districts in all three cities in the following terms: mainly former working class areas, with many unemployed people in the local population, and districts where multicultural co-existence is a practical essential. In research we were looking for correspondence in interests, access to take part and engaged human resources willing to put efforts into the joint venture.

A joint venture

Sketching the idea of a joint venture for educational development a sample of geometrical figures to get an overview of possible structures and areas of participation took form. A problem immediately rose: The figures had a kind of hierarchical order about them, and neglected the really crucial matter in a shared venture of partnership, - the issues surrounding working with different kinds of interests and different work practices and of using this as a basis for dialogue.

When one initially writes a sketch for research and development, it is possible to start with shared curiosity, problematic and interests and to look for common objectives:

How is democratisation, citizenship and international education understood by oneself, or in relation to ones work place, one's community, one's international partners ?

How can one imagine and communicate and go into a dialogue on these items ?

How can this dialogue promote inspiration and give any clues or hints about innovation and with extended participatory relationship between the school and the community, or to do with either promoting civil rights and duties, and with global concerns and responsibility ?

The participants in any project like the one described in this article, work in different fields. An optimistic and general approach could tell: Pupils, for example, are struggling for getting knowledge and qualifications and better school lives. The teachers are struggling for better insights, understandings and to find ways of implementing their theoretical understanding and practise, and doing this they develop new and more satisfactory ways of working for both themselves and for their pupils. The researchers, on the other hand, are looking for a more nuanced understanding of concepts, processes and types of dialogues and are, of course, occupied in finding new knowledge. The different fields, however, must be understood as different fields of activity, and perhaps as different language zones rather than a hierarchical order. To understand what is going on the partners need empathic listening, questioning but also comments, questions and reflections from other participants.

An important part of a serious dialogue is, that the participants have time and possibility to formulate and express own ideas and reflections. Earlier experiences from action research and school innovation tell: that a sustainable, but relatively quick change can be made, if the speed in beginning of the process of making agreements allow participators time enough to formulate and introduce issues based on their own interest, but, of course, directed in accordance to the general item. If the participants do not have time enough, in beginning and in the process, the dialogue might turn into a direction where individual objectives are looked upon as power games.

Objectives

The objective of this venture is not only to compare one and another. The value of comparison is helpful but limited. It is a constructive way getting inspiration making one's own progress, it is of limited value only to register similarities and differences, because the venture is not a competition. In this venture the objectives are to make well argued changes and development in the different fields, own and run by the participants themselves. Progress within the different fields are the fertilizer in the dialogue. The result might be a mutual understood description and analysis which combine insights in school practise and development with theoretical and methodical insights. And in that sense it becomes important: making improvement in learning and teaching, in further education of teachers, and in research.

So far those teachers and researchers taking part in the project have started to discuss some preliminary ideas about possible ways of developing a co-operative project between researchers, teachers and schools in our different countries. To clarify some of the issues and to begin the co-operative processes three concepts and the underlying assumptions have been addressed as central ideas for initiating and developing dialogue.

Basic assumptions

The basis of the project is a shared interest in innovation of schools. This interest is extended through the application of three key concepts:

- *Democratisation*
- *Citizenship*
- *International education*

Democratisation is understood in this context as a continuous process to do with development and enrichment of everyday life in schools, through the increased participation and greater co-influence of different partners especially by students and teachers, but also by parents and other members of the local community.

In addition to democratic discourse, current discussions about active citizenship provides a good way for redefining our basic notion of the educated person as a versatile, individual participant in whatever social context they find themselves. In different countries we find various understanding of the concept. Active citizenship, though, is understood as formed through studies, participation and reflections.

International education is crucial to build-up on the UNESCO'S Recommendation from the General Assembly November 19th 1974. So far it is the only text from an international association which all the participants now are linked to. The declaration has a lot to do with democratisation and citizenship, but adds as crucial ingredients global concern about conditions of life; cultural, economical, social and political.

The discourses about the terms have a history and are many faceted both in school practise and in educational theory. Each of the terms have played a role as inspiration and guidance for education. So far the participants have been asked to study Democratization of Education, Active and informed citizenship and the UNESCO recommendation,(see list of references).

There is a lot of open questions and possibilities for expounding different views. The discussions about educational theory of interest for our project, seldom explore three important relations to democratisation, active citizenship and international education, even though they naturally could be part of the concern. The relations, which we have begun to take as important in this particular innovation programme are

- production and consumption (a contribution from ethnography),
- scientific and experimental development (a contribution from philosophy),
- artistic and bodily activities and opportunities (a contribution from art).

The overlap in connotations of the concepts is helpful in the communication between participants. They have a common core but also an enormous variation in the way the terms are used. It must be expected that bringing them into reflective use and guidelines in education and research will produce broad and many faceted examples of empathetic understanding.

Perspectives

The concepts provide a progressive perspective for school development and for professional development of teaching and research enterprises, and this is valid both for the individual and for the collective
- in classroom and school innovation,
- in professional teaching and research,
- in the theoretical viewpoints being used.

The project extend the use of democratic methods in relations both inside schools among pupils, in teacher - student relations, in teacher-teacher relations, in management relations and in relations to parents and community.

Individual and collective experiences will appear in co-operation within and between schools and researchers. And it is our contention that this strengthens the theoretical frameworks being used. At another level, relations between schools and between researchers and between academics and teachers doing in-service education courses are all provided with a firm basis through the deployment of this shared perspective, and on an international level, the basic agreement should make it easier to follow innovative processes in schools, in further education and in research.

The field of research

So far the researchers have not been asked and not expressed their specific interests, but the possibilities are many.

To develop theories and methods in democratic action research according to the progress made by participating schools are important, and in correspondence with this development, the construction of further education of teachers as common or parallel courses between the involved countries will be of value.

The subjects and issues are many but could be like:

- Democratic cultures in schools and democratisation
- Teachers as mediators and producers of school culture
- Teachers as agents of change

How it will be done will depend on the contract i.e. the mutual understanding and agreements between researchers and teachers both national and international.

A Case Story

A memo from a teachers' meeting tells one way of processing[1].

> When the Danish teachers had the opportunity to introduce and discuss democratisation in school with colleagues from Russia and England an issue emerged:
>
> In fact, the teachers said, democratisation of education, is related to three different roles:
>
> 1. The teachers' relation to the individual pupil when objectives, behaviour and school work are planed and implemented.
> 2. The teachers' planning common work and objectives with the class pointing out how common, common can be, and how the contribution from the teacher, the individual pupil and from groups can contribute to support these efforts.
> 3. Included is also the teachers' relations to external partners like curriculum and syllabus, parents, colleagues etc.

To get forward we need an analysis and description of the role of the teacher in these three relations.

The case shows the connection between innovation and research. An investigation can take form, partly collecting what we already know about the three relations, describing what we need to know more about, and what we need to observe and bring into dialogue with the engaged teachers and students. But the case is already an example of innovative behaviour among teachers and the case underline how important it is to communicate with colleagues. Colleagues wants reasons and insights.

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[1] Innovation in progress can be illustrated in a very simple way.

The field of school innovation

In progressive and democratic school innovation, teachers are the central factor. Several empirical investigations from US and Western Europe show that innovation initiated from outside or from the top of the hierarchy has very limited, sustainable influence on everyday life in schools, if any. Very few investigations - if any - shows, that innovation initiated with a bottom up approach is a possible way for general innovation; very often a successful experiment is assimilated or absorbed by the school with the cost of the critical potential. But we also know that good examples of teaching are copied or slightly adapted quite fast among teachers. The dialogue about innovation is most often done with specified goals, between researchers and teachers within a single school.

This project intend to give an opportunity for teachers to develop their discourse into an international sphere. The joint venture is not to be seen as a competition but to be seen as a dialogue between teachers with different conditions but merging interests.

As mentioned the schools were chosen because of similarity in socio-economic conditions shaped in the bigger society but formed by the neighbourhood. During the process the researchers will be forced to modify these assumptions. The diversity is from the beginning accepted as enormous. The ideological attitudes are nearly as different as they can be. So are the participants. The teachers and students will have - over and over - to justify for themselves and to explain to the public, why they are doing as they are during the process of the project. And the result will be, that attention are directed to theory, praxis and imaginations expressed by oneself and by other participants, and hopefully it will be understood in an empathic way.

The domain of teachers

The teachers in the project will have different ways of expressing their opinions - depending on whether they are in dialogue with students, colleagues, another school or with researchers and the head.

A key idea, then, in the construction of this project is that with so many possible partners "freedom of expression" will be quite big. The teachers will get an opportunity to take up discussions of delicate matters. (One can always refer to the strange foreigners even if similar problems are just in front of oneself).

And then of course teachers and students hopefully will be able to visit, see, and discuss the questions in a friendly atmosphere.

The domain of students

We will have to ask the students and let them express, what they hope and expect will be the process and result of any involvement they wish to bring into the co-operation programme. As a first step they are introducing themselves to each other. The students' second step will be to ask questions about real life and in that sence they will set the agenda, and the answers will be basis for reformulation.

Research and innovation

Action - research is a process, which make it necessary to work with skills and methods used on two levels. One level involves methods and skills used to analyze the process itself, and the other involves methods and skills used to promote strategic perceptions and policy and bring them into action. Evaluation then becomes the analysis of both process and actions. The evaluation will be open for participation from different layers and positions. From the beginning it is open for everyone to describe, compare and differentiate according to interest, access, resources and actions.

Interest

The articulated interests from the participants form one of the basic ways getting into agreements about action. It is also one of the researchers sources: One way to find the participants interest is simply to ask them. The concept of interest is understood in a quite pragmatic way, where parts of the content can be build on more quantitative data, the participants socioeconomic background, conditions of life etc., but it can also be based on qualitative data such as the expressions from participants. To understand and build upon differences between groups and individual participants in education demands, that we have to illuminate and bring into public expression, insights in power and potentials or imparity of the parties. The research questions are: How to study as a loyal, that is a constructive critical, participant ? How to handle insights and keep the common responsibility, objectives and perspectives as a group relation ?

Access

In schools it is possible to get a picture of how access to structure and decision making and goal settings are. Who, at all, have access in the organisation ? It is possible to get a partial picture of the different participants' insights and knowledge about rights, status and capacity to influence or master the system and the situation. One basic thing in this venture is that the files are open to participants, and no one else will get access unless the participants accept. The participants have a right to veto.

Resources

This concept takes in: time, economy, knowledge and qualifications as the individual participant is going to invest in the specific matter. Everybody knows from daily life one really bad situation, which often occurs when different parties declare a common interest, but one or some do not invest any effort to implement it. One could say, that this concept helps us and the participants not being too disappointed, when the speed slows down. It gives a picture of the potential force for implementation of the individual and collective interests.

Activities

Activities on different levels can be observed, studied and evaluated. It is possible to look upon results, files etc. Together interest, access, resources and activities gives us a possibility to observe different factions within different practises. The more important attitude is to accept that matters in the field of pedagogy very seldom, if ever, have one and only one possible solution.

Imaginations and actions

Most often the individual is not forced to make actions - even s/he is competent to do it. To a large extend a collective accepts passivity and conformity. When - in research and innovation - we want an understanding of action, then we must as well look for both possibilities and conditions for making actions and accept a big variety in the participants interests, access and resources leading to the actions done.

The American sociologist C. Wright Mills constructed in the 50th the concept "the sociological imagination". In his book he tells a story about reactions to his proposed concept from researchers working in other fields, when he introduced his concept sociological imagination. Everyone liked the concept, but instead of sociological imagination, they would prefer to name it psychological imagination, scientific imagination or whatever field they were working in. Shortly his concept was about how the individual had capacity to change from looking upon herself - to looking upon herself and neighbourhood - to looking upon herself, the neighbourhood and the world - and her capacity in making analysis and getting insights. In innovation and action - research action, is added.

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The Schools

The School in Copenhagen

An introduction to Grøndalsvængets Skole
by the headmaster, Per Flemming Jørgensen

The municipality of Copenhagen has its own local educational administration (Københavns Kommunale Skolevæsen). In this unit, another 59 schools are managed in the same way as ours, paid and run by the city of Copenhagen. The responsibilities of the municipal Authority include the provision for children with Special Educational Need (through the running of a number of specialist schools), the maintenace of seven high schools, the provision of evening classes for young students (14-18 year-old), and the provision of summer camps. An advisory body for pedagogy as well as one for psychological affairs, service the schools and, in addition to this service there is a consultative office for school leavers and the for career guidance. In 1992 a total of 27.695 pupils were under education in Copenhagen by a staff numbering 3.692 employees.

Folkeskolen

The Folkeskole, the type of school we belong to, is a non fee-paying school and the place where most Danish children receive their primary and lower secondary education. You will find a number of fee-paying schools all over the country, attended by in average 10-12 % of the total Danish school-student population. They are financed partly by the state (about 75%) and partly by the parents (25%).

In Denmark we have nine years of compulsory education. The students are kept together in the same class from the 1st to the 10th form. In our school we offer a total of eleven years, viz., one year of infant schooling, nine compulsory years, and on the top one year meant to be preparation for as entry to the high school or vocational education (which is another two or three years).

Grøndalsvængets Skole

Our school holds a total of 325 pupils from the age of 6 to 17. 47% percent of our students has as their mother language, a language other than Danish, mostly Turkish, Kurdish, Serbo-Croat and Urdu. The headteacher, deputy head, 35 teachers, two janitors and 6 cleaners cooperate to run the school. Attached to the school is a recreation centre for 80 pupils from the first four classes. For Copenhagen-standards this school is average in size.

The building

The school, a three-storey red-brick building from 1924, contains classrooms, a health clinic with a dentist and her assistant permanently in residence, as well as visiting nurse, psychologist and a doctor, and it has offices of administration and gym hall. Outside we have sport fields, a green house, a hen house and some gardens.

Neighbouring area

Our school is situated in the north west area of the municipality of Copenhagen surrounded by three-story blocks of flats and parks. You find little industry, but a number of work shops and offices buildings. Most of the flats are in council houses and, thus, are partly being used for housing the homeless among which one finds a large number of foreign nationalities. Many of the inhabitants are partly or entirely dependent on social security. The area thus carries the potentialities for both economic and human difficulties, but it has, of course, a large number inhabitants with good and humanistic spirit actively support the neighbourhood and the school.

Teaching and Pedagogy

The pedagogy of the school is determined a co-operative decision-making process involving head teacher, the School Council and the staff. The head and teaching staff, being accountable to the Council and councillors, are responsible for the everyday affairs of the school. Membership of the Council consists of 7 parents, 2 teachers and 2 pupils. The headmaster participates in meetings but doesn't have a vote.

Monthly meetings are held, the agenda being anything concerning the school, but it is the duty of the council to lay out principles for teaching practice and draw up the budget of the school.

Staff Council

Staff council consists of teachers, head and deputy head. This being the debating forum of economy an pedagogy, it advises the school council as well as the head about everyday practical teaching matters and educational purchases, but the final decision of these matters lies with the school council and the management (head and deputy head).

Comprehensive school

The school is (as all Danish schools) a comprehensive school; the pupils are taught in the same class from infant class to the ninth year, more often so by the same class teacher (usually the teacher of Danish) assisted by teachers of other subjects.

Curriculum

In accordance with the educational legislation passed in 1993, all children are taught as unstreamed classes in all subjects of the curriculum. From the first year the subjects are: Danish, maths, religious knowledge, sport, science, art and music. In the fourth year: English is introduced and from the seventh: German and physics/chemistry. Woodwork, needlework and domestic science are taught from the fourth to the seventh year, these subjects are compulsory for both girls and boys. Geography and biology are taught on the seventh and eighth years and finally history on the eighth and ninth years. In all classes and once a week you find the class-teacher's lesson, which is the period for debate, growth and problem-solving within the class. In the new School Act of 1994 this is specified as a general obligation not as a specific lesson.

Special education

For pupils with learning-difficulties we have specially designed teaching-programmes. They are meant for classroom work with a second teacher, or a small number of pupils are taken out of class for some lessons to be taught separately.

Parents and teachers

We make an effort to improve the relationship between parents and teachers. We spend much time and energy on this, realising that both are responsible for the pupils' academic success. The school take a major interest in ecology, both practical and theoretical, in order to give the children an understanding of our dependency on ecology.

School No. 825, Moscow

Introduced by the Headmaster,
Vladimir A. Karakovsky

The neighbourhood

The neighbourhood of Secondary general school No. 825 is a typical for that of state public school in Moscow. It is situated in a residential area in the South- East of Moscow. Thirty years ago there used to be a village of Kuzminki which was later absorbed by the growing city and became part of one of its districts. Until now some part of the local population has maintained elements and traditions of rural culture. At the same time new housing construction has drawn here Moscovites and people from different territories of the country, attracted by capital-city life. Thus, the population of the school district has a mixed social character and diversity. Since there are no industrial, state and research institutions in the district, it is considered to be a "dormitory" area (people just "sleep" here, and work in other districts of the city). The professions of the pupils' parents are also quite diverse. Anyhow, what can be stated is that they do not belong to government, industrial or any other elite.

The School

The school was founded in 1970. At present it has 1.100 pupils and 59 teachers. Children are admitted to school at the age of 7, and the learning period is 10 years. All pupils are distributed into 34 classes by age.

To achieve the maximum satisfaction of the various interests and natural inclinations of the district's children, the school has different types of classes which work under their own programs: traditional general education, gymnasia-type, subject-type, compensatory education, pedagogical support. Besides permitting to make a choice, it also optimizes the substance of education for a child.

The Pedagogy

The school maintains a humane democratic system which ensures the integrity of the entire teaching process.

It is based on the following human and moral values which are held to be everlasting:

- the Earth is the home of mankind,
- Motherland is a native place inherited by man from ancestors,
- the family is a cell of society, environment for life and development of a child,
- work is a basis of man's life,
- knowledge is a result of diverse creative work,
- culture is a spiritual and material wealth of mankind,
- peace is concord between peoples, nations and countries,
- Man is the absolute value, measure of all things.

The Staff

The teaching staff of the school work under the following clear-cut principles:

1. Teaching and upbringing shall be guided by a lofty goal. According to Karl Marx, it is the absolute goal and measure of all things. The most important feature of a school's value is how pupils feel in it. A school is really good when both children and grown-ups feel good in it.
2. Both socialisation or socialisation and teaching are only efficient when grown-ups take constant interest in children. A pupil's personality is the main treasure and concern of the teacher.
3. High demands to a pupil shall organically include respect for his or her human dignity. Upbringing and teaching without respect mean suppression.
4. Teaching and socialisation are interconnected, and thus they enrich each other. Upbringing whilst teaching, and teaching whilst socialisation put together the teaching and upbringing process.
5. Teaching and socialisation is not a one-way actions, but a co-operation between the teacher and the pupil, based on mutual understanding, it is a creative collaboration of like-minded persons.
6. Teaching and socialisation is accepted as efficient if they are treated analytical and in a serious manner. The creative activity of a teacher is the most important sign of pedagogical culture.
7. The process of socialisation is discrete: a child does not spend in school all the time. Therefore, it is desirable that the school's influence should be vivid, memorable and educating.
8. No socialisation method may be good or bad if it is not part of a system. It can only be efficient if it is based on a system.
9. The main instrument of humane socialisation is the staff of the school which works on the democratic and humane principles, and is a union of grown-ups and children supported by common goals, activities, highly moral relations, and common responsibilities.

On-going transformation

School No. 825 is being transformed into a pedagogical gymnasium. This means that all its graduates receive the basic knowledge of psychology and pedagogy, and have favourable conditions for the development of their pedagogical abilities. Those who wish to enter teachers-training colleges, can undergo special preparatory training. As a result, the school trains its own future teachers. Every fourth teacher employed in the school is its own graduates.

Pedagogical-Research Laboratory

School No. 825 has a public pedagogical-research laboratory which unites 15 teacher researchers. Other members of the staff are also engaged in systematic research. This ensures the school's uninterrupted development, and objective analysis of its condition.

Holy Trinity R. C. Secondary School, Birmingham

Introduced by the headteacher Tom Temple

Holy Trinity R.C. Secondary School is situated in Small Heath, very close to the centre of Birmingham. There are 568 pupils in the school aged between 11 and 16. Also post 16 is being developed.

For the most part the pupils live in close proximity to the school. We endeavour to form links between the school, parents, parish and wider community. The local area reflects a wide cultural and ethnic diversity, as does the make up of the Staff. This is also mirrored in the make up of our intake - each pupil is regarded individually and their cultural differences are respected and valued. The school is a voluntary aided Roman Catholic School and the Christian ethos pervades the schools. Reflections is a vital part of school life, we have a Chapel on site used for prayer and other services. Pupils come to Holy Trinity from a large number of local primary schools.

The school teaches National Curriculum Subjects to all pupils, English, Maths, Science, Technology, History, Geography, Modern Languages, IT, RE, and PE, as well as Music, Art and Drama. All pupils have full access to the curriculum; the area of Special Educational Needs is well catered for giving support to the less able as well as aiming to extend the aspirations of our most able pupils.

Holy Trinity is fortunate in having a modern campus, with playing fields on site. Teaching rooms are arranged in subject suites; as well as 4 science labs and modern technology areas there are two IT rooms and a school library. At the time of writing a new building is almost ready which contains a Drama Studio, more teaching rooms, offices and a Sixth Form Centre.

Holy Trinity has a dedicated teaching staff - 39 in number, as well as ancillary and secretarial staff. The staff are enthusiastic and hard working, the interests of the children are put first and foremost. The development of the pupils in spiritual, social and academic ways is the central purpose of the school. Our mission statement reflects this.

St Bernadette's R.C. J./I School, Birmingham

Introduced by John Mcnally, headteacher

St Bernadette's is a large thriving Catholic -school situated on the South side of Birmingham about 4 miles from the City Centre.

St Bernadette's was established 25 years ago as an overspill school for Holy Family Parish. However, over the years the popularity of the schools has grown as have the buildings.

The school is set in a suburbian area close to the River Cole with a pleasant outlook over a green area managed by an urban renewal project.

The school has been built in three different phases over the past 25 years - the most recent building being completed in February 1993.

There are over 700 pupils at St Bernadette's ranging in age from 3-11 years. We have a 104 place Nursery school and 600 children in main school.

There are 21 classes from Reception to Year 6.

Our curriculum is driven by the demands of the National Curriculum and we endeavour to deliver a broad and balanced curriculum to all our pupils.

The children at St Bernadette's are also involved in extra curricular activities including many sporting activities.

St Bernadette's has a staff of 27 teachers including the Head and 2 Deputy Heads and 5 nursery nurses. We are a three form entry school and have approximately 30 children in each class - all classes are mixed ability.

When the children leave St Bernadette's at 11 years, the majority go to two main feeder secondary schools, Holy Trinity and Archbishop Ilsley - both Catholic Secondary schools on the South of Birmingham.

Project Democratisation, Citizenship and International Education

Stephen Walker

Facilitators :
Antonina Rogacheva (Russia), Knud Jensen (Denmark),
Vladimir Karakovski (Russia) and Stephen Walker (England)

What has democratisation to do with citizenship to do with international education to do with schooling ?

This particular Workshop or series of free sessions at the Conference has a history. Most of those who participated in the Workshop had some idea about the ambitions and the interests of other members. In fact, the session provided the first opportunity for a meeting between many of the teachers and researchers from Denmark, Russia and England who are working together on the joint venture or project *Democratisation, Citizenship and International Education.*

This project, which is the inspiration of Knud Jensen and was established early in 1993, is a programme of international, institutional and interdisciplinary links. It links teachers and researchers, teaching and research; it links schools and higher education institutes in Copenhagen, Moscow and Birmingham; and it links progressive school development with the in-service education of teachers and school managers.

Specifically, the project brings together teachers and researchers from Grøndalsvængets Skole and the Danmarks Lærerhøjskole in Copenhagen, from School 825 and the State Pedagogical University in Moscow and from St Bernadette's and Holy Trinity Schools and Newman College in Birmingham.

Predictably, this Conference being the first occasion participants in this new project had been together in the same room, it was not surprising that the first, tentative conversations in this particular Conference Workshop were mainly given over to a search for common concerns. How could educational practitioners from very different cultural locations and educational sites find both some key perspectives and practical points for intervention and innovation which were shared? How could the analysis of the everyday concerns and practices of a school in Copenhagen, say, have relevance for the development of schools in Moscow and Birmingham, and vice versa?

At one level, the search for common *principles* was not too difficult. Those participating in the project had already agreed that the recommendation adopted in 1974 by the General Conference of UNESCO, *Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* provided a good text to be used for establishing a dialogue between those involved in the project. As a text, it has several merits. It makes an explicit link between the purposes of schooling and global challenges like environmental pollution and resource management, population growth, international co-operation and peace, the North/South developed/developing country economic and social divides and the impact of new technologies of production and communication. It avoids over-simplification and recognises that a basic requirement for effective educational development and change is a *critical* scrutiny of the historical and contemporary conditions of how schools in different countries work, with a firm analytical eye upon the *contradictions* embodied in these operations. And it is probably one of the few 'international visions of educational development which has been accepted as legitimate and relevant by those outside the Western Capitalist world and those from within this configuration - and, as such, it has the possibility of providing some protection from the temptations of ideological imperialism or the cynical and manipulative marketing by one country of 'educational and social know-how' to another. The recommendations in the text are also action-orientated. To combat global issues, it asserts, it is necessary to regard the following educational policy guides as central:

"(a an international dimensions and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms:

(b) understanding and respect for all people, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;

(c) awareness of the increasing global interdependence between people and nations;

(d) abilities to communicate with others;

(e) awareness not only of the rights but also the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations toward each other;

(e) understanding of the necessity for international solidarity and co-operation;

(g) readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his(sic) community, his country and the world at large."

It was thorough a discussion of issues related to this last principle that those in the Worksop found an initial focus for a dialogue in which various educational visions *and* the different practical problems emanating from our everyday experiences in school could be fruitfully brought together. The extent to which different participants struggled with culturally-specific practical problems was clear. For participants from Moscow the uncertainties resulting from rapid social and economic change presented real challenge - challenges like that of dealing with the significantly increased desire for commodity ownership and consumption amongst pupils and parents. For participants from Copenhagen, issues like gender and ethnic group relations through education and democratic pedagogical development came to the fore. For participants from Birmingham, the struggle to retain a relevant and humane curricular experience for pupils in school whilst accommodating the demands of a new, centralised, prescriptive and normative National Curriculum and National Assessment system was centre-piece. As these and other differences in everyday educational concerns were talked through in the Workshop, the possible relevance of UNESCO guide-line (g) above became increasingly apparent. Certainly, it was quickly accepted that any attempt by one national or community group to provide 'quick-fix solutions' to the problems of another would be inappropriate, insulting and ineffective; educational challenges are always culturally located and embedded within the everyday praxis of that location. However, participants also discovered that when they were talking about pupil socialisation or gender relations or curriculum renewal, they frequently came round to exploring individual-group relations, to emphasising the crucial contribution that participation by the individual in community or collective affairs made towards working towards a solution to a particular problem. Could pupils be helped to see through the tensions between individual and collective patterns of consumption? Can curricular experience in the classroom be organised in such a way that it helps to make the individual more versatile and better qualified to work in the community? In short, it was recognised that we were frequently talking about a common perception of what might be called *civic or citizenship* education as both a goal for education and as a planning principle.

Citizenship education, however, has rather many expressions. It is sometimes used in educational debate in ways in which collective responsibilities and duties are emphasised and individual potential and fulfilment are under suppressed. The education of the 'good' citizen, for example, as described in the National Curriculum requirements of England and Wales concentrates upon educational instruments for inserting pupils into pre-formed citizen roles - by teaching them how given political systems work or the moral responsibilities of social life. This form is essentially repressive and one-sided; at worst it has a stern and moralistic view of the citizen, at best it gives skills to act as a citizen without the possibility of being able to change or to develop the civic life in which one is participating. As an alternative to this model, the view of citizenship education developed in other sessions during this Conference (see paper by Gilbert) informed the discussion of those participating in this Workshop. To meet social change in

Russia, to extend social liberalism in Denmark and to confront New Right reform in Britain needs *active citizens.* As Gilbert insists elsewhere:

> *"Contemporary global change requires an extension of the concept of citizenship into the sphere of cultural expression, economic production and environmental sustainability. To engage students in these spheres, educational programme must focus on entitlements in the various discourse and experiences of everyday life, showing the connections among them, and the need to deal with life experiences in its essential connectedness. In this way citizens are empowered to understand alliances and to build strategies for the future."*

Education *for* citizenship is education on citizenship and education through citizenship. In short, participation is again emphasised. As is experience, action potential and the connection between motives and consequences, between goals and outcomes. In practical school terms, however, what might education through active citizenship entails?

It was agreed in this Workshop that active citizenship education essentially involved power-sharing. If pupils are to experience and to appreciate the right to propose courses of action in their communities and are to be able to evaluate the consequences for their group or community of these type of proposals, then a pre-requisite is experience of sharing power in school. This shared experience will include consideration of curriculum, pedagogical and organisational or managerial matters and it will celebrate differences of interests and differences in resources - it will, in effect, be based upon the democratisation of the school process. Democratisation is defined by Jensen (1994), in the following terms:

> *"Democratisation in this context is understood as a continuous process to do with the enrichment and the development of everyday life in schools, through the increased participation and greater co-influence of different partners, especially by students and by teachers but also by parents and by members of the local community."*

The members of the Workshop agreed that an important measure or index of the quality of a school - be it in Moscow, Copenhagen or Birmingham - is the evidence of power-sharing that one could find within it. It was agreed to use this as a means of studying the Project schools in the future as the project develops.

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At the international level we detect some new trends in the relations between state and school. In some areas, a near total decentralisation of schooling is going on with more influence to parents and students. In other areas citizens deal with schisms in schools as ideological institutions. In some areas, economic and material conditions turn attention towards basic qualifications rather than education for democratic citizenship. The transformation of state theory continues and forces a reconsideration of issues about citizen's rights and what is becoming a continuing process of negotiations about duties, possibilities and legislative matters. - The conference was organised as a series of workshops which were concerned with an exploration of these items for a dialogue. The book report that dialogue.

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